





**THE NEED OF A NEW BIBLE  
AND A CREEDLESS CHURCH**



*The*  
NEED OF A NEW BIBLE  
*and a*  
CREEDLESS CHURCH

BY  
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*The Einstein Theory Explained and Analyzed*



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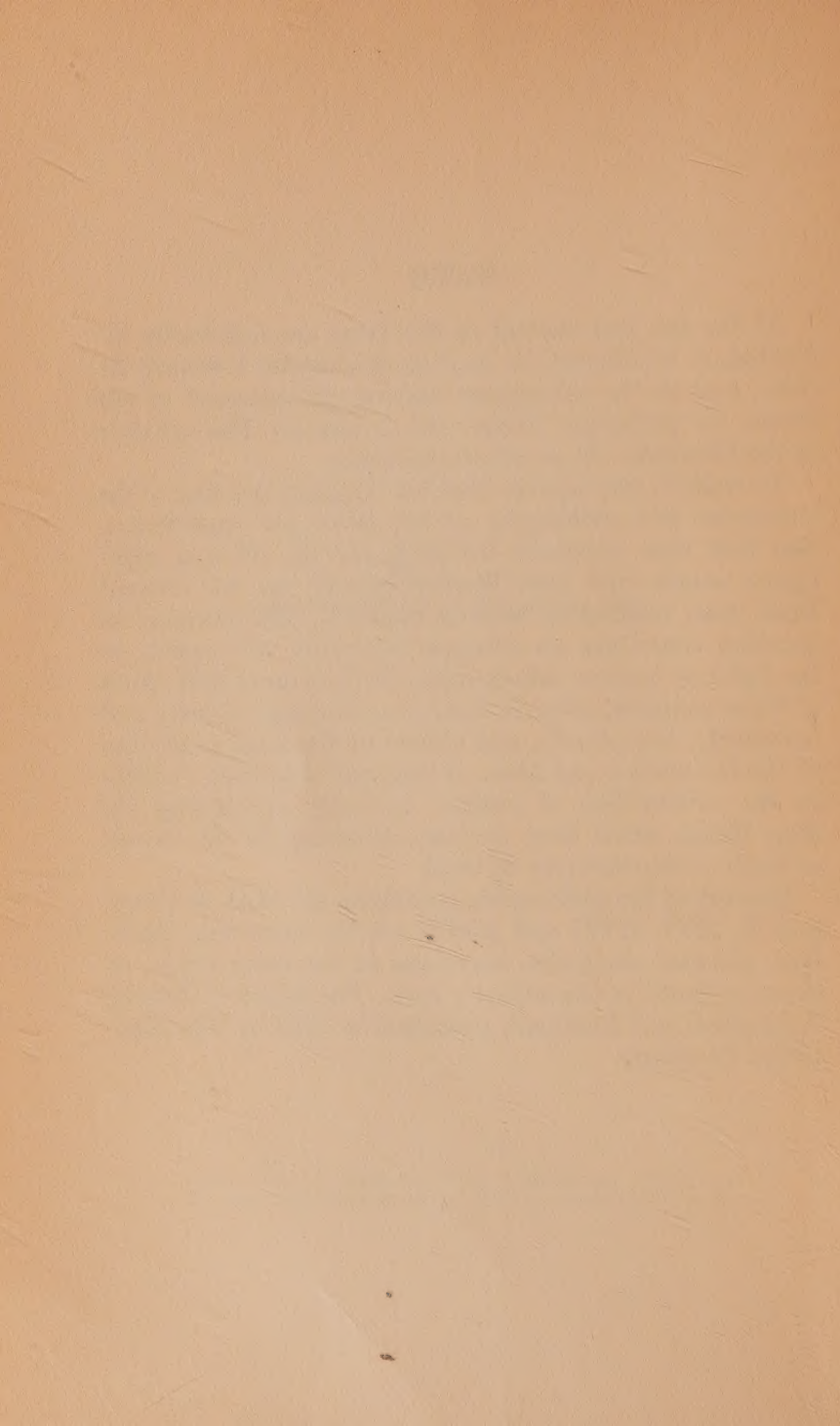
## NOTE

As the aim and content of this book are sufficiently indicated, it is believed, in its title, in Chapter I toward its close, and in the subsequent natural development of the theme, no prefatory frame-work is needed. The syllabus in the Contents will prove of assistance.

To some it may appear that the chapters devoted to the chronicles and philosophy of the Bible are superfluous. But that view overlooks the large number of even intelligent people who have more reverence for the ancient Book than familiarity with its contents. The chapters in question constitute an attempt faithfully to present, in the light of modern scholarship, the substance and spirit of those contents, often in their own language. Gently and reverently, but plainly, and almost by the mere repetition of the old stories and ideas, is demonstrated their futility in the satisfaction of modern curiosity concerning the deep things which they profess, according to the Creeds at least, authoritatively to treat.

Several of the philosophic principles set forth in Chapters X, XVI, XVII and XVIII are the same and, therefore, phrased similarly, sometimes in the same words, as those set forth in the author's book, *The Einstein Theory Explained And Analyzed*, published in 1925 by The Macmillan Company.







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**THE NEED OF A NEW BIBLE  
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## CHAPTER I

### THE ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE

**M**EN must have wandered over the earth for very many thousands of years, sadly and in ever recurrent fear struggling for existence against wild beasts and the hostile powers of Nature, before they awakened to a true self-consciousness. But when, following their first use of words to designate concretely the objects by which they were surrounded, they gradually developed terms by which they were enabled to unite in single phrases the multitudes of things of similar kinds, and thence to reach concepts increasingly abstract, the more intelligent among them must have begun to wonder at the mystery of existence and to attempt some explanation of it. Their curiosity and their fears must have sought some solution, however superficial, of the secret powers that everywhere seemed to threaten them; and their child-like fancy soon or late must ambitiously have attempted an understanding of the origin of the world and of themselves.

The mythologies of ancient nations, while differing in local coloring and poetic detail, are one in essence. Invariably they show that the race development is closely akin to that of the individual and that, even as the child finds its explanations in fancies of fairy forces, so the ancient race first explained whatever its limited experience failed to understand, in supernatural and, alas, generally menacing powers. As that experience increased and what was once mysterious became measurably explicable on natural and less fanciful grounds, science advanced and poetry

receded, the latter gaining in sublimity, however, as it gradually found itself compelled to abandon things mundane, while bowing in reverence before the infinity beyond. In the early ages the goblins of poetic fancy threatened from every cranny and danced and gloated in every dell.

When tornadoes blew, men sought to placate the angry god, who, they fancied, had unleashed them. When the lightning flashed and the thunder burst they visioned an indignant deity hurling his bolts at their devoted heads. As they led their almost defenseless lives in the unfriendly open, particularly in those earliest days of great natural cataclysms, they saw malignant demons in the mighty floods, the destructive earthquakes, the appalling volcanic eruptions, and even in the diseases that afflicted them. The jungle was filled with satyrs and ogres and fire-breathing dragons. And when their hard lives from time to time were rendered less precarious under more favoring circumstances, similarly they saw in the gentle zephyr, the comforting sunshine, the trilling stream, or the whispering, friendly foliage, either the placation of offended gods or the kindly approach of more friendly deities. When a leader whom they particularly revered, one of unusual physical strength and intelligence and masterfulness, died, unable to realize that he had gone forever, likewise they believed that they met his offended ghost in the mysterious dangers and apparitions of the black night. Thus their lives became filled with superstitious reverence for personified ancestral and natural gods; and their scant leisure was often devoted to ever accumulating tales of strange experiences with these deities and heroes. The more beautiful of the legends of the activities of these latter among each other and among men survived and, as we may easily imagine, lost nothing in their successive recapitulation from generation to generation.

Dead leaders became giants, their extraordinary feats became miracles, ghosts became gods, and gods were visualized, in turn, as anthropomorphic Titans formed of a kind of etherial flesh and capable of magic powers. These tales, it must be remembered, were handed down through thousands and thousands of years before even the crudest form of writing was known, in which to encrust them and thus check their further ornamentation. How such ornamentation grows is obvious when one considers the same phenomenon in the ordinary life of to-day, even checked, as it now is, by the universal use of writing and printing.

A man may intend a truthful narrative of some little event in his own life, but however innocent his motive, and the more intelligent he is, the more is he apt to color it, if only to accentuate its point. Each retelling, even by the originator, tends to emphasize and enlarge that in the story which is remarkable and impressive, so that even the most truthful man is often, after years of repetition of his favorite story, unable to separate the part which is fact from that which is fiction. Much more does this tendency exist in the telling and retelling by others. And when a true and remarkable story is told in the language of poet or orator to a backward population, it does not take long, even in these days, for miraculous fiction to all but bury the original fact. To suffering slaves, the emancipator pictured to them as sent by God soon becomes a winged angel. The ghost heard by an ignorant and frightened peasant among the grave-yard trees in the dead of night becomes, in the telling by the next narrator, a seen apparition.

As intelligence advanced, the abler bards attempted more connected and ambitious accounts of tribal and cosmic origins. The comparative study of these thus formed mythologies of the nations, while fascinating in the poetic beauty in which many of the tales are clothed, is even more

so in the disclosure of a similitude which unites them without impairing the interesting variety that marks the different racial and climatic conditions.

When finally the inventive genius of men had evolved the art of writing, some of the legends were reduced to that stable form. This, of course, was done by the bards or scribes or priests, the chosen few who have always led and dictated the destinies of men. The traditions they selected thus to perpetuate in perennial records were those which they regarded as the most important and sacred. Thus it is that many of the ancient peoples have left us their so-called sacred writings in which were embodied their early notions of origins and of man's place in Nature.

While, without exception, all of them teem with the fabulous and with crudities incident to inexperience, they are, nevertheless, of immense historic interest. Every inquisitive mind must delight in such ancient records of the early working of human mentality, of the habits and customs of prehistoric men, and of the events and institutions contemporary, or measurably so, with these archaic historians. Their voices speak to us across the ages. The greater agonies of the men they describe, as compared with our own, give us faith in the good of a civilization ever advancing, however still rudimentary. Fascinating, indeed, to the scholar is the extraction of historic truth from these records, the separation of fact and myth.

Before these labors of much later days, it is not surprising that the mass of men should have venerated, even worshiped, these books handed down from hoary antiquity. Some men, in the pride of present achievement, are too apt to overlook the tremendous preponderance of those institutions and inventions, beneficent and otherwise, which are the vast accumulation of countless generations. But more, in the modesty of mass simplicity and ignorance,



and in their helpless and indolent reliance on ancient authority, are prone to make a fetich of ancestral wisdom, and thus fatally to clog the wheels of progress. They cling in comfort to the views of ancient children, disabling themselves from the perception, and more so, from the acquisition, of the blessings of an ever developing knowledge. Some, indeed, prove their human weakness in their ability to recognize what is fabulous in all mythologies but their own, while insisting upon the latter's sacred and literal truth.

The most remarkable collection of sacred writings that has descended to us is, of course, the ancient Hebrew literature known as the Bible. Beyond controversy, this book has constituted by far the greatest single influence upon the development of our Occidental literature and civilization. The Hebrew tradition and philosophy have likewise dominated the near East through Mohammedanism. Until our own times, it has been different in the far East, though even there, their sway is being extended through the modern spread of Christianity.

The little Semitic nation of the Jews gave these Scriptures to the world originally in the form of the Old Testament written in Hebrew, the Jewish vernacular (except for trifling portions in Aramaic), while, after Hebrew had entirely given way in Palestine to Aramaic, sons of the same race added the New Testament in Greek, then the general language of the East, as the most fitting vehicle for the message to the Gentile world.

Whenever pride gives way to reflection, it is seen, as intimated above, that in every age, even our own, whatever the strides of science, the great preponderance of wisdom comes from the past and not from the relatively small contemporary achievement. Such is the nature of man that, in spite of the healthful progressiveness which has for the most part characterized human history, he

has, therefore, nearly always evinced, and even more than he has realized, too superstitious a reverence for the authority of the past. This reverence he has unconsciously linked with the worship of ancestors and all their works, characteristic of every barbaric age. These complexes, joined to the conservatism of indolence, suffice to explain why the Bible, however much it may seem to contain unsuited to a more advanced age, or even contradictory of the latter's scientific acquisitions, has been held apart as something superlatively authoritative. Most of the so-called conflicts between science and religion can be traced to this cause. In fact, the conflict has never, among the higher intellects, been one between science and religion, but always between science and the supposed divine authority of the Bible and the thence emerging creeds.

The Bible is regarded by Christians and by at least the orthodox Jews as the inspired word of God. Some regard this inspiration as literal; some permit a certain liberality of interpretation; and some are willing or eager to admit, in matters which they deem or profess to deem immaterial to their respective creeds, a certain latitude of human error in the ancient accounts. But wherever Christianity holds sway, the Bible is regarded, in one way or another, as a supernatural revelation which it is blasphemous to contradict. However liberated from this view the more enlightened intellects have become, they have won this freedom against a tremendous educational handicap, while, if by reason of inertia, conservatism or indifference, they remain in the churches, they maintain, in different relationships, two contradictory views. The masses are almost completely immersed in the ghostly theology of primitive men. The way to freedom is all but blocked by the early education of every church and every school either directly or indirectly under church domination. A false outlook on the universe as a whole and on man's place and

duty in it is directly created by this education. And even the ultimately enlightened, as they struggle toward a more scientific and consistent perspective, are immensely hampered in their efforts by the silly instruction of their most impressionable years.

A sad feature of this perversion is the fact that, rightly regarded, the merit of the Biblical writings is superlative. For scholars they are an inexhaustible delight. For the masses their excellence is to a considerable extent attainable by their absorption in the modern literature; and will be more so when their beauties are culled, fact and fiction identified, and the brevity of paraphrase secured, by the editing of adequate scholarship. These writings comprise all that go to make up a national literature: poems, prophetic, pastoral, heroic and erotic; proverbs and saws of wisdom; tales of vice and virtue, of legendary heroes, military chieftains, poets and prophets; laws; chronicles of patriarchal ancestors, of tribes and kingdoms and of savage wars, of barbaric oriental despots and of harems; eloquent thunderings of great religious and ethical leaders against human vice; praises of virtue and of wisdom; reflections on the necessity of accepting, with unquestioning faith in God, the evil and agony in the world; but above all, persistent attempts, by way of revelation and assertion, and without any of the logical science and philosophy so characteristic of the Greeks, to account for the origin of the universe and man's relation to the God that made it. Its earliest legends seem to part the mists of history and expose to our gaze the true life of prehistoric men. Its later chronicles show us the naked truth of the cruel life and ghastly superstitions of an ancient barbaric age.

About twenty-five centuries have now elapsed since these books, in one form or another, were reduced to writing. The world has moved. The ancient writers would be as-

tounded, indeed, if, in the light of present knowledge, they could witness men to-day willing to limit their science or even their ethics by that then extant.

The inquiry to be made here is whether we have not yet sufficiently developed to render it feasible and expedient for the masses of men, as well as the intellectuals, to acquire a more correct perspective of the wondrous universe in which they live and of their place and duties in it; whether it is not time that primitive mythology should give way to the authority of the little, though relatively great, knowledge that we have by this time acquired, and which is opposed in all ways to the cosmology, and in many ways to the history, philosophy and ethics of this venerable volume.

The Fundamentalists, blindly insisting as they do upon its literal truth are not so vulnerable as the Modernists to the reproach of insincerity, though expressions are sometimes used by many even of their preachers which seem to evince deep-seated convictions contradictory of their professed faith. The Modernists, imbued as they are with the spirit and substance of modern science, attempt, in ways that of necessity must, even though subconsciously, savor of hypocrisy, to reconcile their new convictions with the old authority. Some attempt to interpret the Scripture away from the clear statements of a less informed age, in a manner which cannot appear, even to themselves in their deeper reflections, as wholly sincere. Others limit the field of inspiration to what they separate out as the cardinal truths of the sacred narrative, while the great mass of what they concede to be erroneous they profess to regard as immaterial to its main objects; reckless, these, that they are, beyond peradventure, destroying the foundations upon which rest the essentials of those religious dogmas which nevertheless they profess, at least tacitly, to believe, or of whose pul-



pits and confessions they are the ordained and remunerated ministers.

The times give ample evidence of the disturbed consciences of many of these men. Their intentions are noble. They are the pitiable victims of an age-old historic inconsistency. The shackles upon their thought must be destroyed. It must be freed to follow wherever the light of reason, directed upon the productions of past and present alike, may lead. Philosophy, ethics, science and history must all be tested by that light alone.

Here the inquiry shall be whether it is not time honestly to recognize the gross inadequacy of this noble, ancient literature as a modern, popular text-book of religion and philosophy; and whether there is not a crying need for a new Bible, a resumé of a cosmogony and philosophy and of a history of men and thought, which will withstand the modern tests of truth,—a resumé which will deeply interest, instruct and move all reflecting men by the truth of its perspective, the grandeur of its theme, the ethical connotations of its teachings, the penetration of its science, the sublimity of its religious philosophy and the unifying artistry of its construction. The better educated, indeed, by laborious effort in many widely separated studies, have reached some sane perception of the all-pervading unity. The times are ripe for the beginning of the great work of enlightening all men, freeing them from the darkness which a mistaken bibliolatry has needlessly and for many centuries caused to obscure other wisdom and thus to retard human development.

Before, however, attempting to discuss further these great questions, it is proposed first to present with respect and truth an account of the contents of both the Old and the New Testaments in so far as they bear upon origins, science, ethics, philosophy and religion, and to show, almost with the presentation alone, how inadequate and

opposed they are to the intellectual demands of the present day.

Fifty years ago it might have been necessary for this purpose to present fully the results of the scholarly Biblical criticism which has so thoroughly exposed the human errors, inconsistencies and contradictions of the supposedly supernatural records. Only one or two generations ago were first adequately presented to a startled world the manifold defects and mutilations of the text itself, the errors, difficulties, and, in some passages, impossibilities of translation, the more than occasional union of writings of different authors and different epochs to create the books as they now exist, the numerous editorial additions and interpolations, some of them in the passages most crucial in relation to the disputations from which developed the modern creeds. So well has this work been done, and to such an extent has general knowledge since advanced, however, that such a course is no longer necessary. It will almost suffice merely to state the Biblical contents to those who have more veneration than knowledge of them. At the present time, those who read and think at all, who know only a little of comparative mythology, of history and of science, will find the mere perusal of these old tales and thoughts sufficient for fitting them into their proper historic niche and for appraising their proper relation to truth.

But if the creeds must fall, what of the church? It is proposed also to discuss the need for a church, through which, even though a creedless one, men may cultivate their higher natures on the basis of those facts and faiths and feelings which are justified by a reasonable science.



## CHAPTER II

### THE OLD TESTAMENT ACCOUNT OF CREATION AND THE CHOSEN PEOPLE

**T**HE Bible starts, logically enough, with the impressive account of the creation of the world. We are told that in the beginning, which, according to the sacred narrative, must have been just about six thousand years ago, God created the heaven and the earth. The earth was without form and void. Darkness was upon the face of the deep. The spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. On the first day God said, Let there be light; and there was light.

On the second day God made the firmament, which was the ancient writer's idea of a material blue sky, the ceiling of the earth and the floor of heaven, which we now know to be an appearance only, due to the action of light upon the various atmospheric particles, and which really represents the endless void of space. And on this second day God divided the waters under the firmament from those above.

On the third day God gathered the waters under the firmament into one place, and on the thus emerging land created plant life. On the fourth day, he made the lights in the firmament, the stars, the moon and the sun, so that they might constitute, for the use of men, signs, seasons, days and years.

On the fifth day God filled the waters and the air with fish and birds. On the sixth, he created the beasts and every form of land creature, and completed his labors by

forming man from the dust of the ground, breathing into his nostrils the breath of life, and giving him dominion over all other living creatures. This man God made in his own likeness, this phrase perhaps being used in the same sense as that in which it is used in the relation of the later birth of a son to the man in the latter's likeness. On the seventh day God rested from his labors, and this the sacred writer accepts as the explanation of the ancient institution of the Sabbath.

Anticipating somewhat, it is curious to note that later there are two versions of God's ten commandments to his chosen people. Both are given in the Deity's own words, and yet, while in one the above reason is repeated for the commandment to keep the Sabbath, in the other that day was said to have been instituted in commemoration of the deliverance of this people by God from their slavery in the land of Egypt.

Creation completed, God planted the luxuriant garden of Eden in the territory between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, that fertile country which was the seat of man's earliest civilization. In this garden grew every tree pleasant to the sight and good for food, and, in the middle, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. God commanded that the man might eat of every tree except the latter, and perhaps the former, and warned him that if he disobeyed he should surely die.

According to a second and somewhat differing account interwoven with the first, God then made and paraded before the man, Adam, all the living creatures of the earth, so that they might be named by him. Then, having caused him to fall into a deep sleep, God extracted one of his ribs, and made of it a woman to be his wife and helpmeet. The man and the woman were naked, but were not ashamed. To both was given, from the beginning, the use of an adequate, if simple, language.

The serpent, wiser than the other beasts, and evidently also gifted with speech (in the Christian creeds he becomes Satan, the devil), tempted Eve, the woman, and argued with her that God had forbidden the fruit of the tree of knowledge and had threatened death for disobedience, knowing well that by that course men, far from dying, should be as gods, knowing good and evil. The woman ate and gave unto her husband, and then the eyes of both were opened and they knew that they were naked.

The next event in this tragedy is that God took a walk in the garden in the cool of the day and called to Adam and his wife, but they hid themselves. Finally compelled to answer the call, they explained that they were hiding because they were ashamed to show their nakedness. God then demanded, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat? The man replied that he had eaten, being tempted by the woman, and she blamed the serpent.

Thereupon God cursed the serpent and condemned him to travel on his belly, the woman to bring forth progeny in pain and sorrow and to be subject to her husband, and the man thenceforth to earn his bread in the sweat of his face. Both were doomed to ultimate death. Out of dust they were made, and unto dust they must return.

Then God gave garments of skin to Adam and his wife wherewith to clothe themselves; and, because he feared that they might also partake of the tree of life and live forever, and also perhaps in execution of his judgment of future toil, expelled them from that garden of ease to till the ground from which they were made. For here the sacred narrator appears to overlook the countless ages in which men subsisted by hunting and fishing, and those later ages in which they depended upon domesticated cattle, before they discovered the art of agriculture.

Men have ever wrestled, without convincing success, with the profound problem of agony and death in a divinely ruled world, but it presented no difficulties to the ancient scribe, who has solved it in the simple way just presented. His conception is that the world started without evil. Mankind was surrounded by the blessings of abundance. Toil, pain and death did not exist. Adam and Eve possessed originally innocence and consequent bliss, but also wills free to choose good or evil. They chose the latter and, thus steeped in sin, were relentlessly condemned to lives of torture and to death in all succeeding generations.

Driven from Paradise, the human race, therefore, now started on its painful history. The world was rapidly peopled, but, though there were giants and angels on the earth in those days, the wickedness of men grew so great that God finally repented he had made them. At that time, there was but one, Noah, who found favor in his eyes. So God warned Noah that, as he was about to destroy all living things by flood, Noah must make an ark and enter it with his wife and his sons and their wives, and, according to one account, with a male and female of every kind, according to another, with seven pairs of certain kinds and single pairs of the other kinds, of all the multitudinous living creatures that filled the sea, the air and the earth, including the insects and creeping things. Noah, then six hundred years of age, gathered together this tremendous zoological collection and with them and his family entered the ark.

Then were all the fountains of the great deep broken up and the windows of heaven were opened and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights until all its mountains were covered. When all flesh outside the ark had died, and after the waters had prevailed upon the earth for one hundred and fifty days, they receded and

the ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat. Several months later, when the earth was finally dry, Noah and all with him left the ark. He thereupon built an altar to God and made a burnt sacrifice of every clean beast and fowl. When God smelled this great offering, he blessed Noah and his sons and established a covenant with him, promising that never again should there be a flood to destroy the earth. As a token of that covenant, he set up the rainbow. This is the chronicler's explanation of that beautiful phenomenon, to him incomprehensible.

Doubtless there are few to-day, even among the orthodox, who accept the literal truth of this naive story. Certainly it would be folly now to repeat the labors of a half century or so ago, when scientific men felt it necessary to demonstrate the physical impossibility, not to speak of the animal collection, of such a flood, either over the mountains of the whole earth, as the narrative has it, or over those of a part. In the former case, they undertook to show that there could be no place to which the waters might finally recede; and, in the latter, that there could be nothing in Noah's country to hold them up. The thing might have been done, of course, by the most stupendous of all miracles, an earth-wide violation by Omnipotence of natural law.

After the flood, we are told, the earth was peopled with the descendants of Noah's sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth. The Semitic races, including the Assyrians, Hebrews, Arabs, Phœnicians and others, are supposed to be the descendants of Shem; the Japhetic races, of Japheth, including the Persians, Hindus, Greeks, Romans and all the modern European races generally designated as Aryan or Indo-European. The ancient writers considered as the descendants of Ham all those races, generally dark, which were not included in the Semitic or Aryan families.

A problem which troubled the old chroniclers was that



of the diversity of languages which divided all these nations and races. They solved it, however, in the following way. Originally, they tell us, the whole earth was of one speech, but wicked and ambitious men in the land of Shinar (probably in Babylonia), designed to build a tower which should reach to heaven. This was displeasing to God, who, therefore, confounded the language of the builders, so that they no longer understood each other and were perforce compelled to cease their operations and to disperse. The tower was named Babel, or confusion, because God there created the numerous tongues of the earth.

The first glimmer of a more connected, if still legendary history, we now get from the story of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the successive sheiks of a nomadic tribe of Hebrew shepherds. We are told that Abraham (father of many) left his settlement in or about the ancient city of Ur of the Chaldees, probably at that time a great seaport near the mouth of the Euphrates, because of his revolt against the idol-worship that surrounded him, a practice all but universal in the primitive world. Such is the weakness of men that they had long since crystallized their ideas of divinities behind the forces of nature into material, symbolic images, before which they prostrated themselves in superstitious awe.

The God of Abraham's tribe was conceived as too spiritual and powerful to be worshiped in such a crude form. He seems to have represented a unification of the spirits or *elohim*, which, in the Mesopotamian world, were deemed to animate all nature; and the beautiful traditions of Genesis, even if bearing the editorial impress of a much later age, make it possible that El or *Elohim*, if he often appears crudely anthropomorphic, was, even then, sometimes conceived as a universal spirit, the creator of the world. He was the friend of Abraham and of his son and



grandson, and appeared to them in visions and dreams and through angels, conversing and arguing with them. He marked their tribe as his chosen people and made a solemn covenant with them that through their descendants all the nations of the earth should be blessed. He guided Abraham to Canaan and promised it to his descendants. On one occasion he commanded Abraham to look toward the heavens and to see if he were able to count the stars, promising that his descendants should be as numberless as they. All that God exacted in return for his favor was that the tribe should then and forever after mark their special mission by the rite of circumcision. Thus is explained the origin of that ancient custom.

Abraham's eldest son, Ishmael, was the ancestor of the Arabians, while through Isaac, his legitimate younger son and heir, the Hebrew race descended. Isaac's sons were Esau, the father of the Edomites, and Jacob or Israel, who continued the Hebrew line. His sons were the progenitors of the famous twelve tribes, two of which, Benjamin and Judah consolidated, were the forbears of the modern Jews. The ancient Moabites and Ammonites, who, with the Edomites, are of importance in early Jewish history, were a kindred race, the descendants of Abraham's nephew, Lot.

It is not our task to detail here the vivid patriarchal stories. It will suffice to indicate briefly their general character. We note here already the interesting habit of the priestly writers, which we shall have later occasion to remark, of depicting with candor the vices as well as the virtues of their heroes. While this appears sometimes to have been due to the intention of drawing a moral lesson, it is often due also to an unconscious naturalness in depicting customary barbarisms which did not seem to offend seriously ancient moral standards. Thus, God is depicted as choosing, without explanation of the divine reasons,

as favorites, men who often are shown to conduct themselves in ways not only savagely cruel, but treacherous and untruthful. For example, Esau was deliberately cheated by God's friend, Jacob, of his birthright and succession. Yet, even as Jacob fled from his brother's wrath, God favored him with the well known vision at Bethel, where, to this divinely appointed ancestor of the chosen people, was revealed a wonderful ladder extending from the earth to the firmament, upon which traveled up and down the angels, while at the top God himself renewed from heaven the covenant already made with Abraham and Isaac. Abraham himself is depicted as deceitful, perhaps through a pardonable timidity, in his dealings with surrounding kings, who, by a story several times repeated with respect to himself and Isaac, he feared might slay him by reason of the beauty of Sarah (Princess), his wife.

Once Jacob wrestled successfully all night with a man who turned out to be God, thus forcing a blessing and the change of his name to Israel (translated variously, prince of God, or, striver with God). And because in the struggle God struck him in the hollow of his leg, the Israelites never eat that part of an animal's body. Contrary to a later Scriptural statement, Jacob claimed on this occasion to have seen God face to face, and yet to have survived.

When Abraham was one hundred years old and Sarah ninety, God, by a miracle, gave them their son, Isaac; and later Abraham was only saved by divine interposition from following the widely prevalent, primitive custom of placating the Deity by the sacrificial slaughter of that well loved boy.

Jacob's daughter was desired in marriage by a neighboring chief, who, according to one account had first defiled her, but at all times was eagerly desirous of marrying her. The marriage was forbidden by Jacob until the

prince and his people consented to circumcision. To this disabling operation in all friendliness and confidence they submitted, when two of Jacob's sons, by an act of cruel treachery, slew the husband, sacked his city, and seized his wife, their sister.

Side by side, however, with this and other horrible stories are some of a more pleasing character. The picture as a whole is one of simple and dignified tribesmen possessing a pure religion, born probably of dreamy contact, night and day, with expansive plains, noble hills and starry heavens. Far and wide they ranged through the desert from pasture to pasture, varying peace with war, innocence with guile and cruelty, painfully seeking the means of existence, and indulging their simple astonishment at their occasional contacts with the civilizations, already ancient, of Egypt to the south and of the Mesopotamian kingdoms to the north. Here they marvelled at the teeming cities with their commerce, manufactures and arts, and at their great buildings and tower-like temples, which, seeming to pierce the heavens, probably inspired in the nomad camps many a story like that of Babel.

The history finally leads us to the appearance in Egypt of Joseph, one of these Hebrew tribesmen, as a slave, and to his rise from that low condition until he became the vizier of one of the Egyptian Pharaohs or kings. Under his able and auspicious rule, probably under a dynasty which had likewise originally entered Egypt from the north, and which was perhaps, therefore, related in race, his fellow Hebrews settled in north-eastern Egypt, where they multiplied and prospered, preserving their customs and at least some dim remembrance of the God of their fathers.

Some centuries later, however, there arose in Egypt kings who knew not Joseph. They began to fear these hordes of uncivilized foreigners living on their borders.

The Pharaohs proceeded to employ them as slaves in the construction of some of those great public works whose ruins to-day are the delight and wonder of archaeologists. The Hebrew traditions of the ancient patriarchs and of their covenant with their God seem to have been sufficiently lively to require only a leader to develop them into a tribal consciousness and to inspire revolt from oppression and an ambition to perpetuate the nation in the promised land of Canaan.

The time was ripe and the leader finally appeared. We are told that Moses was preserved from a royally ordered slaughter of Hebrew infants. Like Romulus and Remus of the Roman legend and Sargon of the Mesopotamian Semites, the child was set adrift in a floating basket. He was rescued and reared by the king's daughter. He could thus well have become learned in all the learning of the Egyptians, as a much later Scriptural writer informs us. If this be true, modern archaeological research suffices to assure us that he may have been enabled to revive, if not to improve, the spiritual, if possibly tribal deism of his ancestors from the esoteric philosophy of the Egyptian priestly caste.

At all events, he did not forget his people, and their sufferings drew from him the expression of such resentment that he was driven to flee from the avenging power of the Egyptians into the wild country of the Sinaitic peninsula. Here he lived with the desert Midianites, marrying the daughter of Jethro, their chief or priest; and here, surrounded by the wild and impressive scenery of that mountainous country, he experienced a great mental struggle, the same that history so often records as exacting, in the souls of superior men, a noble choice between the cowardly temptation of peaceful indifference and the courageous assumption of dangerous leadership against abuses and oppression.

Chief among the impressive hills of this region were the sister mounts of Horeb and of Sinai, perhaps identical, regarded by the desert tribes as the mystic home of divinity. During the brooding meditation of the future leader in their vicinity, God appeared to him in the fire of a bush which burned but was not consumed, and said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob. I am come to deliver my people out of the hand of the Egyptians and to bring them into the promised land flowing with milk and honey. I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people. Moses said, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh? God answered that he would be with Moses and that when the latter had brought forth the people they should serve God upon that mountain.

Then Moses inquired as to the name of the God who was sending him to his people. God gave his name, according to the pronounciation adopted by modern scholars, as Yahveh, or, according to the general, if mistaken, rendition, Jehovah, which is translated by the Scripture, I am that I am. Jehovah told Moses that he had never been known by that name to Abraham, Isaac or Jacob. There is much that is interesting about this story. The ancient Hebrew writing expressed the consonants only, leaving the supplying of the vowels to the general familiarity with the pronounciation, the vowel signs being the creation of a later age. When, in the course of time, it developed that this name of God was much too holy to be written, or, indeed, to be spoken, except on the rarest occasions, its pronounciation was lost. There is reason to believe that in the early patriarchal age, as Genesis indicates, God was worshiped as a pure spirit designated as El, or, in the plural, Elohim, though always with a unitary significance. Later, when the Israelites emerged from the desert as a tribal nation, to conquer Canaan, their God had a



name, Jehovah, even as the gods of the surrounding nations had names. Much later in their history, when their idea of their God had highly developed, whether the Scriptural pun was forced by an assumed synonymity of Yahveh with the Eternal One, the "I am that I am," or whether the Jews became ashamed of the attribution to such a God of a personal name, that name ceased to be used in their writings, substitutes were created, it was deemed too awful for human utterance, its genuine pronunciation was lost, and thence, by this added mystery, Jehovah of the earlier tradition became assimilated to the true, eternal Spirit of the later days. At all events, though we are assured by the words of Jehovah himself that the patriarchs did not know him by this name, the later writers of parts of Genesis overlooked this fact, since even there the opposite appears.

For many centuries after the time of Moses, Jehovah appears to be no more than the ordinary tribal or national god, the particular god of Israel, superior, it is true, in the estimation of that people, to the gods of other peoples, but not necessarily the only God. The religion of the Israelites, from the time they emerged from the desert and made their bloody conquest of Canaan, until or almost until the destruction of the kingdoms they founded, does not seem to have risen above this monolatry. They seem even, during these many centuries, to have worshiped, besides Jehovah and besides the foreign gods of their frequent dereliction, other ancient gods of their own, as we shall later see. It is, nevertheless, possible, if we may judge from the strength of the tradition, and even apart from the definition of the name, Jehovah, that Moses, himself a man familiar with Egyptian culture, had endeavored to lift his people to the height of a spiritual monotheism and to prevail upon them to worship Jehovah as the God of



the whole universe. If so, his influence in this respect did not long endure.

To resume, however, the narrative of Moses' conversation with Jehovah in the burning bush, he was instructed to gather together the elders of Israel, to remind them of the ancient covenant with their fathers and to lead them from Egypt. But Moses trembled, and argued that the people would not believe him. Then God instructed him to cast his rod upon the ground. He did so and the rod became a serpent and pursued him, but when, under God's command, he seized it by the tail, the serpent became again a rod. Further miracles were performed to persuade the man, but, still hesitating, he pleaded lack of eloquence. God answered, Who hath made man's mouth? I will be with thee and teach thee what thou shalt say. When Moses still demurred God's anger was kindled and he said, Is not Aaron, the Levite, thy brother? I know that he can speak well. I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do. He shall be thy spokesman unto the people and thou shalt be to him instead of God.

Then Moses summoned up his courage and, returning to Egypt, demanded of Pharaoh that he let the people go. When the king refused, Moses and Aaron performed before him miracle after miracle of malign destructiveness; but, though stricken with terror after each dire visitation, he hardened his heart and still refused to yield. In vain were the Egyptians smitten successively by the turning of their great river into blood and the death of the fish therein, by a pest of frogs, by innumerable lice, by unheard of swarms of flies, by a mortal cattle plague, by boils upon man and beast, by destructive hail and thunder storms theretofore unknown in Egypt, by devastating hordes of locusts and by a thick darkness over

all the land. Although all these afflictions passed over the Hebrews, and each in turn had been predicted by Moses and ceased upon his command when Pharaoh agreed to release the people, the royal promises were not kept.

Not without danger did the great leader perform his wonders and sternly make his demands before the haughty king. More than once was he threatened with death, but the man was very great in the eyes of the intimidated Egyptians. Finally Jehovah slew all the first born of every family, high and low, in the land of Egypt, passing over the Israelites; and, in terror, Pharaoh gave the long awaited word. Then this numerous people, with their herds and all the silver and gold they could "borrow" from the Egyptians took their way to the narrow fords of the northern Red Sea to cross into the desert beyond. As they marched, Jehovah preceded them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them, and by night in a pillar of fire to light them. They took with them the bones of Joseph as had been promised him, so that they might rest in his native land.

It was hard for Pharaoh to lose his slaves. He repented his surrender and pursued them with a great army. The people were affrighted and asked Moses whether he had taken them away to die in the wilderness because there were no graves in Egypt. But Moses, under divine guidance, stretching his rod over the sea, Jehovah caused it to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and divided the waters so that the Israelites went through upon dry ground. The Egyptians pursued, but now, as Moses again stretched forth his rod, the wind changed, the sea returned and the royal army was annihilated. Concerning all these great events the Egyptian records are silent. But monuments and chronicles usually do not flaunt national disasters, and the tradition is so vivid that it is highly probable that in some manner the Hebrews,

against Egyptian opposition, found or fought their way from Egypt.

Once safely across the Red Sea, they wandered in the desert, suffering hunger and thirst as well as the attacks of the hostile Amalekites, a kindred tribe supposed to be a branch of the Edomites. The sorely tried people's mutterings were stilled by miraculous help. They were fed with the desert food, manna, which, perhaps due to inexperience, they believed to have rained from heaven. The bitter waters of Marah were made sweet, miraculously as the people thought, through the steeping therein of a certain plant. The rocks of Horeb were made to yield gushing streams when smitten by the magic rod of Moses.

After several months the wandering tribe reached the wilderness of Sinai and camped before the mount. Here Moses was instructed by Jehovah that, by divine inspiration, he was to promulgate the sacred law which thenceforth is to govern the public polity and private lives of this chosen people. Moses visited God on the mountain and was admonished to remind the people of the miracles they had seen in their release from the Egyptian power, and to say to them: If ye will keep my covenant, ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people, for all the earth is mine; ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation. Moreover, a message was promised from the voice of God himself issuing from the mount to all the people on an appointed day. They were commanded to sanctify themselves for that day and Moses was instructed to set bounds beyond which they might not go, on pain of death to any who touched the mount. When the trumpet sounded long, the people might draw near God's awful sanctuary.

On the appointed day there were thunderings and lightnings, and the storm reverberated like titanic trumpets through the wild passes of this weird region. We may

well imagine how the people feared the more this miraculous tempest, in view of the fact that in Egypt even natural thunder storms were unknown. A thick cloud rested upon the mount and the voice of the trumpet was exceeding loud, so that all the people trembled. They stood at the foot of the mount, which was altogether in a smoke and which quaked greatly as the Lord descended upon it in fire. As the trumpet sounded long and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, God answered him by a voice, and came down upon the top of Sinai, where Moses went up to him. Then God again warned Moses that, while he might bring Aaron with him, he should charge the people lest they break through to gaze upon Divinity and thus perish. The leader descended to warn the people and then God voiced the ten commandments, those famous ten commandments, which, besides laying down Israel's primary religious duties, tersely include the chief ethical principles of all the nations.

The commandments are that Israel should have no other gods than Jehovah; that they should not make or worship any idols, because Jehovah is a jealous God; that they should not take Jehovah's name in vain; that they should keep holy the Sabbath day and do no labor thereon because in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is and rested on the seventh day; that they should honor their parents; that they should not kill, or commit adultery, or steal, or bear false witness, or covet, any man, the property of others.

When the people had passed through this tremendous experience they were frightened and said to Moses, Speak thou with us and we will hear, but let not God speak with us lest we die. Then the people stood far off and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was; and in the secret heart of the mountain God delivered to him that ancient and interesting code of laws which is set



forth in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, some of which may perhaps have originated at this early date, but most of which is manifestly more suited to the settled life of the agricultural and urban people this wandering tribe had become at the time these laws were actually put into writing.

Not only Moses, but Aaron and numerous elders or sheiks of the tribes were allowed into the presence of God, seeing him through a sky clear pavement like sapphire under his feet. To Moses alone were delivered, in the secret recesses of the mountain, tablets of stone on which God had inscribed the commandments. The glory of Jehovah abode upon Sinai, the cloud covered it six days, and the sight of the glory of God was like devouring fire on the summit in the eyes of the Israelites. Moses was in the mount for forty days and forty nights. There he was given precise instructions as to the construction here in the desert of an elaborate, portable ark and tabernacle, to be made, and which was soon made, of fine wood, precious metals, gems and dyed linens and leather, with golden, winged cherubim. In the tabernacle was to be placed the ark, and in the ark, the sacred tablets.

Now while Moses tarried in the mount, this stubborn people, in spite of the tremendous miracles that had been performed for their benefit, in spite of the visible presence of God in the fire that led them by night and the cloud that led them by day, and in spite of having heard the very voice of God amid the thunders and quakings of the great mountain, and although they had just heard that awful voice denouncing the worship of idols, rebelled and compelled their leaders, including even Aaron, to make for their worship a golden calf. Then the resentful Deity said to Moses, Go, get thee down; for thy people have turned quickly aside from my commandments; let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them. Moses

prayed for mercy and argued with God: Why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty hand? Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains? Remember Abraham, Isaac and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest to multiply their seed as the stars of heaven and to give them the land of Canaan. Thus reminded, Jehovah repented of the evil which he had thought to do unto his people.

A similar argument between Moses and the Deity is recounted on another occasion, when the people's hearts failed them at the difficulties of the conquest of the promised land. Then they threatened to stone their leaders, whereupon Jehovah said to Moses, How long will it be ere they believe me for all the signs which I have showed among them? I will smite them with pestilence and disinherit them. But Moses argued, Then the Egyptians shall hear it and they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land, and since it is known that thou goest before the people in pillars of cloud and fire, if thou shalt now kill this people, then the nations which have heard thy fame will say, Because Jehovah was not able to bring this people unto the land which he swore unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness. Moses further reminded God that he had stated himself to be long suffering and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity but by no means clearing the guilty, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations. Whereupon the Lord again forgave the rebellious people.

When Moses descended from Sinai, the divine tablets in his hands, and saw the dancing about the idol, in his anger he cast down the tablets, which were broken, and destroyed the idol. The idolaters did not easily yield,



however, civil strife ensued, and there fell that day about three thousand men.

This mutiny checked, Moses returned to God, who renewed his promise that the people should have possession of Canaan, and emphasized his command that all its nations were to be extirpated. Furthermore, God replaced the broken tablets, which were deposited in the now constructed ark, which, in turn, was placed in the Holy of Holies in the tabernacle.

Now Jehovah spake unto Moses, face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. So Moses besought God to show him his glory, to which God replied that he would make all his goodness pass before Moses, but to this he added, Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live. So Moses, following God's instructions, stood within a cleft of a rock, and, the divine glory passing by, Moses was permitted to see God's back, but not his face. When Moses returned to the people from this holy interview, the skin of his face shone so that the people were afraid to come nigh him; and he was compelled to veil his face.

The story of Israel preceding its establishment in the promised land has now been sufficiently told. It remains only to mention some of the teachings of the law directly bearing on its theology and ethics, and which, if the product of a later age, the Scriptures, nevertheless, place in this period. The gist of its creed is stated substantially as follows: Hear O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord (or, Jehovah alone is our God). Thou shalt love him with all thy heart, soul and might. These words shall be in thy heart, shall be taught diligently to thy children, be talked of constantly, shall be bound for a sign upon thy hand and as frontlets between thine eyes, and shall be written upon the posts of thy house and on thy gates.

Again it is said: Israel, what doth thy God require of thee, but to fear him, to walk in all his ways, to love and serve him with all thy heart and soul, and to keep his commandments and statutes. Your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward. He doth execute the judgment of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment. Love ye therefore the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.

The evils of slavery, though the institution existed, were much mitigated. The morality of the home, while polygamy and even concubinage were recognized, was sternly insisted upon. Justice was the key-note of the law. Its word and spirit were those of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life. But the administrators of this stern code were particularly admonished not to respect persons in judgment, but to hear the small as well as the great. Precepts of love and charity are not absent. The law commands, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; and in a book, ostensibly of a later period, but which probably voices a command as early as the actual origin of most of the law itself, it is said: If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty give him water to drink.

But one divine command of the Mosaic period was appallingly cruel even when viewed in the light of those days. This was that, in the conquest of the promised land, the fierce tribes were relentlessly to put to the sword all its inhabitants, men, women and children. In their wars with other peoples they were permitted to levy tribute when unresisted and, when resisted, to spare the women, or at least the virgins; and this, in fact, at times they did. But no such weakness was to be permitted in the case of the Canaanites. Perhaps this is merely the imagination

of those later writers to whom we are indebted for the narrative and who desired to emphasize their view that the later woes of Israel came from disregard of this policy; for, in fact, the cruel order was not always obeyed. And perhaps the excuse of these later writers for even visioning so relentless a conquest, was the necessity, from their viewpoint, of removing the temptation always lurking in the orgiastic worship, by many Canaanitish peoples, in one form or another, of the generative principle, probably practiced in the groves so often mentioned and denounced in the later annals.

The government of the people, while simple and democratic, considerable power residing in the elders, was probably, even in the earlier periods, theocratic, as is so clearly true later. That idea is seen in the traditions, and the writings reflect it always. According to them, Jehovah was the sovereign power, but his voice could be heard only through leaders like Moses and the later prophets, who thus were the true rulers. When these, as we shall see, were finally compelled to give the people a king, they endeavored to retain authority upon the theory that royalty was created only by their anointment and must cease upon their disapproval.

Related to this belief in God's willingness directly to rule the nation so long as his prophetic agents were respected, is the faith of this people that they were God's special favorites. This idea was by no means unique. Many of the ancient nations regarded themselves as, in a sense, divinely favored with superiority, if not as divinely chosen for some particular mission. Even as the Jews referred to other peoples in a supercilious way as strangers and Gentiles, so the Greeks, Romans and other nations referred to their contemporaries as barbarians. Nevertheless, no impartial Biblical reader can fail to be impressed by the special strength of this conviction in the Israelites, at

least in the more historic period accompanying and following their national destruction and restoration, perhaps a thousand years, or nearly so, after the Mosaic period. Then at least, if not before, the whole nation was fervently animated with the belief in its mission to preserve the splendid truths of a spiritual and ethical monotheism amid the idolatry of the surrounding nations, and ultimately to spread it among them.

### CHAPTER III

## THE OLD TESTAMENT ACCOUNT FROM JOSHUA TO ELIJAH

**A**FTER the death of Moses the Hebrews crossed the Jordan from the east into the promised land under the leadership of Joshua, who, like his predecessor, was guided by the verbal advice of Jehovah. Part of the land was speedily conquered and, in the earlier warfare, the divine command of extirpation was obeyed. The conquest, however, was not completed in Joshua's time, and, in fact, thereafter proceeded but slowly, while even after the establishment of the kingdom under Saul several centuries later, many of the original inhabitants continued in the land side by side with the Hebrews, some having never been conquered, and others having been spared.

The conquest was ever attended by divine intervention. One of the most celebrated of Biblical miracles took place during Joshua's campaign, though, indeed, Modernist interpretation may find explanation for this particular miracle in the war poetry of these archaic times. We are told that, during a great battle between the Hebrews and the Amorites, the sun and the moon stood still for a whole day in order to give the conquering invaders sufficient opportunity to complete the slaughter. The ancient chronicler, however, immediately follows this wonderful tale with the intimation that it is taken from the Book of Jasher, which seems to have been a book of war poems, later lost.

Likewise, the waters of the Jordan were divided, as in



the earlier case of the Red Sea, so that the people might cross upon dry land. The city of Jericho was taken by the easy device of marching around it once a day for six days and seven times on the seventh, the priests meanwhile blowing seven trumpets of rams' horns, whereupon, when the army shouted, the wall of the city fell flat.

The conquest was not followed by immediate order and prosperity. For several centuries there was no king in Israel and every man did that which was right in his own eyes. There was no government other than that of the elders and of sporadic leaders, called judges. These arose from time to time to recall the people to Jehovah from Baal and other foreign gods and from the sensual worship of Astarte, the Syrian Aphrodite, in the groves, or to lead them to battle for existence and conquest against the surrounding nations. In the stories of these times, as, in fact, in all the Biblical history before and after, there persists the optimistic idea of the priestly scribes that every period of decay and suffering was due to disloyalty to Jehovah, while every period of prosperity was due to a penitent return to his worship and obedience to his commandments.

This is the heroic age of Hebrew history. It is not our task to set forth here the accounts of the legendary exploits of its heroes, which match in vividness, romance and poetic beauty the best that the Greeks have given us. It will suffice to mention a few of these leaders. One was Gideon, who had such trust in his God that, when he marched on one occasion against the enemy with a great army, he dismissed most of it on command of Jehovah, who feared lest victories by overwhelming numbers might be attributed by the people to their own prowess rather than to divine assistance. Everyone knows of Samson, the Hebrew Hercules, who, among other great deeds, slew one thousand Philistines with no other weapon than the

jawbone of an ass, and who, when finally betrayed into the hands of that people by a harlot's arts, was blinded, and in that pitiable condition, after prayer for the return of his superhuman strength, pulled down upon himself and his enemies, the pillars of their temple, so that in his death he slew more of them than in his life.

Then there is the tragic history of Israel's first king, Saul, who, because he had offended God, or God's vicar on earth, the prophet Samuel, was visited by an evil spirit, which seems to have been some form of insanity, and, when the fit was on him, could be soothed only by the sweet strains of young David's harp; the venture of the lad David of Bethlehem against the Philistine giant, Goliath, when, refusing armor, he achieved victory with his sling and Goliath's own sword; and the noble friendship of Jonathan and David, which is said to have passed in tenderness the love of woman, and which Jonathan cherished even at the expense of his own royal future.

Another interesting story is that of the capture by the Philistines of the sacred ark, which the Hebrews had carefully treasured from the time of Moses. When Eli, the high priest, heard of it he fell down and brake his neck and died; but Jehovah visited the Philistines, because of their possession of this holy chest, with such plagues and such destruction of their idols that, of their own will, they returned it. Considerably later, when David was endeavoring to consolidate the nation by centering the national worship of Jehovah in the new capital city of Jerusalem, he undertook to move the ark to that city. On the way, as the ark jolted and slipped on the ox-cart, one of the attendants put his hand upon it to steady it, whereupon the resentful deity struck him dead. David, dismayed, thereupon delayed for several months the final entrance of the ark into the city, where it was finally enshrined in the temple under his successor.

A very unpleasant story is that of the civil war between Benjamin and the other tribes, who, hearing the voice of God, all but exterminated their brethren, the Benjamites, for a crime of atrocious cruelty which well illustrates the spirit of these barbarous times.

It was during this disordered period of the judges and early kings, that there arose the schools of prophets, institutions apart from the ceremonial priesthood, in which young men were trained to religious ecstasy through the medium of music, song and dance. To them the divine word was given, and it was to their inspired voices that the elders of the land were expected to bow in humble submission. King David himself, when the ark was finally moved into Jerusalem experienced the outspoken contempt of one of his queens, Saul's daughter Michal, because, very scantily clad, he publicly danced and leaped, among the other devotees, before the ark, to the music of harp and drum. For this offense, the poor princess was condemned to sterility.

The first of the great prophetic leaders, after Moses, mentioned in the sacred narrative, is the stern Samuel. He judged Israel all the days of his life, and under him the nation seems to have been, for the first time since the conquest, really united. But when he became old and desired to make successors of his sons, who, we are told, walked not in his ways, but turned aside after bribes, the elders of all Israel met and insisted that Samuel should appoint a king to rule over them and to lead them against their enemies. This thing displeased Samuel, but God instructed him thus: Hearken unto the voice of the people for they have not rejected thee, but me, that I should not reign over them.

Samuel, obeying this divine order, anointed Saul as the first king of Israel, but was careful to preserve the theocratic government and his own vicarious power, by

constantly insisting that he himself should be not only the appointer, but the ruler of kings. He relinquished his direct authority with an interesting warning against the despotic tendency of royalty. He said to the people, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you; he will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen and captains, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war; and he will take your daughters to be confectionaries and cooks and bakers; and he will take your fields and give them to his servants; and he will take your men-servants, and maidservants, and your goodliest young men, and put them to his work; and ye shall be his servants.

Throughout the course of the subsequent monarchical history the prophets followed Samuel in claiming for themselves the real power, though frequently, under strong kings, they failed to retain it. In such cases the Scripture insists that the recalcitrant king was one who walked in evil ways. While this was perhaps not always the fact, it must, nevertheless, be admitted that generally the prophetic leaders took a consistent and magnificent part, not only in continual striving for the preservation of the ancient worship, but also in thundering loudly and often against corruption and vice. For already was slowly developing the germ of the stern Hebraic moral code, out of the realization that the glory of the state, and hence of its God, was promoted not only by courage and wisdom in public acts, but also by private virtue. The principles of the law and of the ten commandments were slowly growing. Whatever the excellence, in this and other respects, of the influence of the prophets in these early days, however, theirs was the baneful polity that has so dominated ecclesiasticism even to our own times. In the repeated reverent or superstitious prostration of



the Hebrew kings in humiliation before God's earthly representatives, we see the early growth of that union of church and state under divine and, therefore, priestly sovereignty, which in the mediaeval age is so sadly pictured in the humiliation of the holy Roman emperor before the arrogant Hildebrand at Canossa.

The earliest illustration of this priestly arrogance is Samuel's rupture with his own appointee Saul, and his anointing of David to rule in his stead. There were two reasons for this course. On one occasion Saul impatiently awaited the arrival of Samuel to offer the necessary sacrifices before joining battle, but, as the prophet delayed, Saul took upon himself this function. This seemed to Samuel an unpardonable usurpation. The second cause of offense was Saul's failure to obey implicitly the divine command imparted by Samuel, to war against the Amalekites, the ancient enemy of Israel, and extirpate them. Spare them not, said the prophet, but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass. Saul prevailed against the Amalekites and complied with the cruel command, except that he prudently took over the cattle and chivalrously spared the life of Agag, the king. For this, Samuel fiercely denounced him. Saul humiliated himself before the prophet, but the latter commanded that Agag be brought before him. Agag came unto him delicately, and Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past. Samuel said, As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women; and thereupon hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.

The language of the prophet to the king in attempting to fix their proper relationship is instructive. On the occasion of the usurpation of the sacrificial function he said, Thou hast done foolishly; thou hast not kept the commandment of the Lord; now thy kingdom shall not con-



tinue; the Lord hath sought a man after his own heart and commanded him to be captain over his people because thou hast not kept that which the Lord commanded thee. And on the occasion of the sparing of the Amalekite cattle he said, When thou wast little in thine own sight, wast thou not made the head of the tribes and king over Israel; wherefore then didst thou not obey the voice of the Lord, but didst fly upon the spoil; hath the Lord as great delight in sacrifices, as in obeying his voice; because thou hast rejected his word, he hath also rejected thee from being king. As Samuel turned to depart, Saul laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle and it rent. Samuel then said, The Lord hath rent the kingdom from thee this day. Saul said, I have sinned; yet honor me now, I pray thee, before the elders of my people. But Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death.

We must omit further details of Saul's sad life and death, noticing in passing, however, after the death of Samuel, the king's consultation with the witch of Endor, who raised from the underworld the ghost of the prophet, who foretold to Saul his impending ruin and death. This is interesting as one of the few vague references in the Old Testament to immortality, which was by no means accentuated in the ancient religion of the Hebrews. All its emphasis, as we shall see, was upon the earth life. The only survival after death hinted in the earlier history, is an undefined, shadowy and sad existence in Sheol, the gloomy region of the dead.

After the period of Samuel we see in Israel the beginning, but only the beginning, of a higher civilization and a nobler ethics and religion. For several centuries before and for at least three centuries after that period, there was certainly no very close relationship between worship and morals, while the religion, even of the loyal Jehovah worshipers among the people, was crude and barbaric.

Whether the tradition of a sublime, monotheistic conception by the early patriarchs be true or not, and whether or not Moses, far in advance of his times, had the same conception, to which he endeavored by main force to lift his people, it is, nevertheless, the fact that they, whether retrograding from early enlightenment, or continuing in their ancient barbarism, cultivated, side by side with Jehovah worship, from the time of their conquest of Canaan to that of the later prophets, that is, during a period of at least five hundred years, and probably more, other worships in no respects superior to those of the surrounding peoples. The allusion here is not to their frequent falling away to foreign gods, of which the prophets so bitterly complained, but to the cultivation of gods, other than Jehovah, which seem nevertheless to have been their own.

Not only did the people stray to the groves of Astarte and the temples of Baal, but they seem to have clung to an ancient calf image worship, of which we have had an early hint in the story of idolatry even on Sinai, and which may have been of Egyptian origin. Another ancient Hebrew worship was that of serpent images, probably in the oft-mentioned high places, which were not destroyed until the time of the last kings, a worship which the sacred writers endeavor to explain as an abuse descended from the time when Moses himself lifted a brazen serpent in the desert, but, we are assured, only to cure the people from serpent bites.

Still another ancient form of Hebrew idolatry is that of the teraphim, or household gods. These images are alluded to as existing even in the patriarchal households. In the time of the judges, and even of the earlier kings, their use seems to have been wide-spread. Connected with them was a form of divination. Like the other ancient peoples, the Hebrews were wont, before any serious un-

dertaking, to consult their oracles. Just as other nations decided the divine approval or disapproval by such means as the shape or color of the entrails of sacrificial animals, or in such a way as by the ravings of the Pythian priestess, so the Israelites consulted Jehovah or the teraphim through prophets or other ministrants, who apparently needed to wear, for the proper fulfilment of their office, the mystic ephod, and who discovered the divine decision in some such way as by urim and thummim, apparently a casting of lots.

Even the Jehovah worship of these early days was not always pure. It is true that, apparently from remote antiquity, this Deity or his predecessor, El, was so sublime as to defy imagery and transcend symbolism, but the Biblical account is full of tales, some of which we have set forth, showing the anthropomorphic way in which Jehovah's people so frequently were driven to regard him. He expressed the same passions and resentments as men, the same repentance of his own promises and conduct, the same tendency to yield to flattery or to be swayed by argument. We have seen that he conversed with men face to face, though in some way which did not permit them to see his countenance, and that Moses was permitted to gaze only upon his back. Any one who will follow closely the Scriptural narrative of the wicked acts of many of his special favorites, particularly David, will be easily persuaded that during the early period the later Jewish union of worship and ethics had not yet been completed.

Even the human sacrifices of the ancient cave men had not yet been entirely abolished. Certainly this practice was more or less in vogue until the late period of the Babylonian destruction of the Judæan kingdom. The law itself at the same time evidences and condemns this practice, since, while requiring the sacrifice of the first-born

of the cattle, it orders the redemption of the human first-born by an animal substitution. The records abound in allusions to kings who walked not in Jehovah's ways, but permitted the sacrifice of children by fire.

This ancient nation was no freer than its contemporaries from the prevalence of magicians, interpreters of dreams and wise men, who ministered at the same time to the superstitions of the low and the great. In fact, through the tendency of kings, in these times of cruel hazard, to lean upon this type of wisdom with superstitious credulity, the necromancers frequently rose to be royal advisers and statesmen. It was thus with the Hebrew prophets. In their earlier history at least, they were the oracles of Jehovah, representing an improvement, to be sure, on the older forms of divination. Their prophecies were largely based on their astuteness. They aimed to be statesmen, rulers, who frequently bitterly resented the refusal of kings to follow their advice, even in purely political matters. They had to be careful that they uttered no clearly false prophecy. In fact, the law prescribed, if it did not inflict, death for that offense. It is not surprising that, throughout the ancient world, oracular deliverances were generally ambiguous.

Although David of Bethlehem had been a great warrior against the Philistines under Saul, and, in fact, had been given one of Saul's daughters in marriage, royal jealousy or prophetic intrigue led to war between them. Nevertheless, David did not ascend the throne until Saul's death. Then the monarchical history of Israel really began, Saul having been more like one of the ancient judges than a royal master. Under David and Solomon, about 1000 B. C., the Hebrews learned what it was to be ruled by an oriental despotism. The surrounding Palestinian nations were defeated, the boundaries of the Hebrew power widely extended, the capital city of Jerusalem



set up and embellished, the great temple of Jehovah erected, the ancient ark deposited in its Holy of Holies, and the arbitrary rule of the king, under Jehovah, centralized. Palaces were erected and enormous harems set up. During the space of some two or three centuries after David's accession, Hebrew literature began. The tradition may be true that from this time date at least the beginnings of the poems, homilies and proverbs, so many of which bear the names of David and Solomon. The legends too of the earlier times must have been gathered together with royal encouragement, though there are internal evidences that their present form cannot much antedate 500 B. C. The modern alphabet, in which they are written, and which the Hebrews are believed to have derived from the Phoenicians, probably was not developed very long before the time of David.

David and his successor, Solomon, were barbaric despots who were guilty of crimes of violence and treachery. The Scriptures do not hesitate to set these forth; but, if there be any truth in a powerful tradition, they must also have been men of force and wisdom. The strength of the people's, at least post-mortem, veneration and affection for David and the love for his house extending through many generations, would indicate that he was something of a genius and a man who varied his cruel crimes with religious devotion and a contrite spirit. He was at least willing to acknowledge his sins and to humble himself before the prophets.

As an illustration of this, one remembers his adultery with the beautiful wife of Uriah, the Hittite, while the latter was fighting the king's battles. When Bathsheba conceived and the king was unable to conceal the thing through the loyal refusal of Uriah to return to ease at home, until his military duties were ended, David had him treacherously murdered, and made the widow one of



his numerous wives. She became the mother of Solomon. On account of this crime Nathan, the prophet, confronted the king and told him the story of the poor man who had nothing but one little ewe lamb which he had bred and loved but which the rich man, who had everything, seized and killed. David's anger was kindled at this atrocity, and he said to Nathan, As the Lord liveth, the man that has done this thing shall surely die. Nathan sternly replied, Thou art the man! David admitted his sin and patiently endured God's punishment.

In the time of Solomon the despotic yoke was so heavily imposed upon the people that, immediately his strong hand was removed by death, the northern tribes revolted and the nation was divided, never again to be united. The northern kings ruled over the so-called ten tribes of Israel from their capital, Samaria, and the southern or Judæan kings ruled from Jerusalem over the united tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

The ultimate destruction of these kingdoms seems to have been certain, and, in fact, its postponement remarkable, in view of the fact that they were constantly threatened by the power of Egypt on the south and that of the successive powers of Assyria and Babylonia on the north. This very rivalry, however, between the great southern and northern powers and also frequent confederations with other of the threatened smaller states, enabled the diplomacy of their rulers to protract their existence. Wars were frequent, and, in spite of the mortal danger by which both were threatened, there were even fratricidal conflicts between Judæa and Israel. As usual under despotic governments, these conflicts were more often the result of dynastic ambitions and intrigues than of popular hatred; and the two peoples still seem to have regarded themselves as one. At all events, after victory they extended fraternal mercy; they frequently seemed to

regard Jehovah as their common ruler and the enemies of both as his enemies; and we have evidence that the prophets of both countries did not hesitate to travel from one to the other, whenever they conceived it necessary, with the most sublime courage, to face a recalcitrant king with the divine denunciation.

It was in the northern kingdom that, in the ninth century, B. C., appeared the next great prophet, Elijah, and his disciple and successor, Elisha. Their careers began in the wicked reign of Ahab, king in Samaria, whose wife was the infamous Phoenician princess, Jezebel, and whose vices were those of despotic injustice and the practice by himself and of the people, by his connivance and encouragement, of Phoenician worship. Elijah was a fearless upholder of the ancient faith. He seems to have been wont to disappear in wild abodes, and to emerge dramatically at critical moments, roughly clad, to confront and awe the king. He was a performer of wonderful miracles. He healed the sick and even restored the dead. He fed a starving widow, who had been charitable to him, by the gift of a perennially supplied barrel of meal and cruse of oil.

Under the influence of Jezebel, her religion had been introduced and most of the prophets put to death. For this treason, Jehovah afflicted the land with a great drought. Elijah predicted it and then fled from the king's anger to the wilderness, where he was miraculously fed by ravens. The king pursued him hotly. There was no nation or kingdom, we are told, where the king did not in vain send to seek him. After three years had passed, and while the land was groaning under the consequent famine, Elijah fearlessly presented himself again before the king, who said, Art thou he who troubleth Israel? The prophet replied, I have not troubled Israel; but thou, and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the command-

ments of Jehovah and followed Baalim (the Phoenician gods). The king was compelled to yield to his demand for a gathering of the elders at Mount Carmel before which he exposed the prophets of Baal and of the groves, nearly a thousand in number, when they were not able to accomplish the miracle which he then performed, attracting fire from heaven to burn the sacrificial offering. Elijah then said to the assembled multitude, How long halt ye between two opinions? And under his leadership they slew the prophets of Baal. Thereupon, in answer to Elijah's prayer, came a great rain and the drought was broken. This did not improve his position, since, by this destruction of her priests, he had made of Jezebel a mortal enemy. He was compelled again to flee for his life into the wilderness, where again he was miraculously fed, this time by an angel. Then he traveled to the sacred Mount Horeb, where he dwelt in a cave, fasting forty days and nights.

As he stood upon the mountain in that holy region where Jehovah, so many centuries before, had appeared miraculously to his chosen people in thunder and in fire, the Lord passed Elijah and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks; but the Lord was not in the wind. After the wind came an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake. After the earthquake, a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire. After the fire, a still small voice.

Thereupon Elijah, thus wrestling with himself in the wilderness, was commanded by God to return to his task in the troubled politics of Samaria and Syria. For the voice said, What dost thou here Elijah? And when he pleaded his danger, the voice, as in the case of his great predecessor, Moses, forced him back to duty, commanding him to displace Ahab as king with Jehu, one of Ahab's captains. Him, Elisha in fact subsequently anointed, and he ultimately succeeded to the throne, after Ahab's death

in battle and the slaughter of Jezebel and the royal princes. As Elijah returned from the wilderness, he found and was followed by his destined successor, Elisha.

Other prophets also were busy in these times, some true and some false. One of them, dissatisfied with the easy terms granted, for very good reasons, by Ahab to the defeated Syrian king, called upon a neighbor to smite the prophet. The man refused. Then said the prophet, Because thou hast not obeyed the Lord's voice, a lion shall slay thee. This dire prediction was immediately fulfilled, and this lesson drawn, the prophet threatened the passing king with similar destruction, because he had refused to smite the Syrian king.

Ahab, despotically, under Jezebel's urging, being covetous of the vineyard of his subject, Naboth, corruptly procured his murder and seized his property. Then appeared again the stern Elijah and seemed to predict, as a punishment, the king's shameful death, saying, In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood. Ahab said to Elijah, Hast thou found me, O mine enemy? and humbled himself again before the prophet.

Following the prevailing custom of consulting the oracles before every important military adventure, Ahab, when about to war with Syria, summoned about four hundred prophets of Israel and inquired whether or not he should attack Ramoth-gilead. They advised in the affirmative. Then, his ally, Jehoshaphat, king of Judaea, said, Is there not a prophet besides? Ahab replied that there was one name Micaiah. But, said the king, I hate him for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil. Under the pressure of the Judæan king, however, Micaiah was summoned. He said that he had seen Jehovah on his throne, who had asked for a spirit to delude Ahab to go to his fall at Ramoth-gilead; that a spirit had stepped

forth offering to accomplish this, as a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets; and that Jehovah accepted this offer and promised success. Hearing this statement of Micaiah, a bystander, evidently one of the false prophets, smote him on the cheek and said, Which way went the spirit from me to speak unto thee? Micaiah said, Thou shalt see in that day when thou shalt hide thyself. Then Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would prophesy no good concerning me, but evil? He had Micaiah imprisoned, the kings followed the others' advice, they were defeated and Ahab was killed in the battle. His body was brought to Samaria for burial, and, as they washed his chariot and armor at the pool of Samaria, the dogs licked up his blood, as had been foretold.

Ahaziah, the successor of Ahab, decided to arrest Elijah because the prophet had denounced him for consulting the oracles of Baalzebub rather than those of Jehovah, as to his recovery from an illness. On each of two occasions, however, the officer sent for this purpose and his entire company of fifty men were consumed by fire from heaven. The third officer begged Elijah for mercy, and the king having been sufficiently intimidated, Elijah spared these men and accompanied them without fear to the king, whose death from the illness he then successfully predicted.

The Scriptures contain no extended statement of Elijah's particular views. Without appearing merely to crave power, he seems to have represented a stern loyalty to the worship of Jehovah as against that of foreign gods. It is probable also that he was a fierce champion of the democratic and rustic simplicity of his ancestors and of the rural districts, and that he voiced a stout protest against the wealth, luxury and cosmopolitanism of the more civilized, if also more sensual, capital. That he was



a man of remarkable power and courage seems evidenced by the profound impression he made not only upon his contemporaries but upon posterity; for his name and prestige endured for many generations. It is mentioned with reverence and awe in the later writings and also in the New Testament, where it is intimated that John the Baptist was a reincarnation of his mighty spirit.

His death was worthy of such a life. It is related that Elisha traveled with him to Bethel and that the prophets of that place inquired of Elisha, Knowest thou that the Lord will take away thy master to-day? to which he replied, Yea, I know it; hold ye your peace. Elisha then followed Elijah to Jericho, where the same conversation ensued with the prophets of that place. They then proceeded together to Jordan and fifty prophets stood to view afar off. Elijah smote the river with his mantle and, the waters dividing, the two passed over on dry ground. Elijah then said to Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee, before I be taken? Elisha answered, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me. Elijah said, Thou hast asked a hard thing; nevertheless, if thou see me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but, if not, it shall not be so. Then appeared between them a chariot of fire with horses of fire and Elijah went up by a whirlwind unto heaven. Elisha saw it, took up the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, smote the waters therewith and passed through to the waiting prophets, who said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha; and they bowed before him.

Elisha proceeded to carry on his master's mission and performed similar miracles, even to the raising of the dead. He also, as in the later case of Jesus of Nazareth, fed large numbers of men with small quantities of food. He made iron float and he miraculously cured and inflicted leprosy. It is even related that when, after his

death, a corpse was accidentally lowered into his grave, it was restored to life by the contact with his bones.

When Elisha left the scene of Elijah's death, as he traveled toward Bethel, there came forth little children from the city and mocked him saying, Go up, thou bald head. He turned and cursed them in the name of the Lord; and there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them.

When the kings of Israel, Judaea and Edom confederated against Moab, the Judaeen king inquired for a prophet, and Elisha responded. He denounced the king of Israel, but, by reason of his respect for the Judaeen king, summoned a minstrel, and, when the minstrel played, the hand of the Lord came upon him; and he successfully predicted the defeat of the Moabites.

Elisha played quite a part in the troubled international politics of his time. He seems to have been as much feared in Damascus as in Samaria. When the Syrian king sent a force to take Elisha because he had repeatedly informed the king of Israel of all his hostile plans, Elisha's servant feared; but the prophet miraculously enabled him to behold, around his master, horses and chariots of fire, which smote the Syrian force with blindness. And during a siege of Samaria by the Syrian king there was great famine, so that the people ate the flesh of their own kin. The king, in his agony, attributed these evils to Elisha, and threatened him with death, but Elisha sat in his house, the elders with him, and miraculously foretold that the Lord should deceive the Syrians into believing themselves attacked in the rear by Israelitish allies. This happened, so that the siege was raised.

True predictions of great moment also did Elisha make to the Syrian kings. He died in the reign of Joash, king of Israel, and, when he was on his death-bed, the king visited and wept over him. The prophet predicted

victory over the Syrians and said to the king, Smite upon the ground. He smote thrice and stayed. Then Elisha was wroth and said, Thou shouldst have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it; whereas now thou shalt smite Syria but thrice.

A greater enemy than Syria was now about to appear. Within a few years after Elisha's death, Damascus fell before the advancing Assyrians, and some three score years later, Samaria shared her fate.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE OLD TESTAMENT ACCOUNT OF THE PROPHETIC CREED AND THE MESSIANIC PROMISE

THE power of Assyria wielded from Nineveh, its capital, had been ominously increasing, and with consternation the two Hebrew kingdoms saw the surrounding nations successively conquered and either destroyed or rendered tributary. The northern kingdom naturally first felt the brunt of this invasion, and one after the other of its kings was compelled to submit to tribute, though the courage of the nation was such that again and again it revolted. During these wars, some of the ruined people fled to Egypt, while others were deported, in accordance with the Assyrian policy, to the territory of the victors, their place being taken by colonizers from the Assyrian realms. Finally, about 720 B. C., Samaria, after a stubborn siege of three years, fell, and all except the lowest classes of those remaining of the nation were distributed in the mountainous districts to the east of Assyria and in the adjacent cities of Media. Thus disappeared from history the ten tribes of Israel, and thus began the distribution of the Hebrews among the nations of the earth. It is probable that some of the exiles, in more propitious times, found their way again to their own country and, together with those who had not been deported, intermarried with the colonizers. The Jews of the southern kingdom, however, never thenceforth admitted fraternity with the people to the north, though it is probable that, even if the blood of the Samaritans no

longer was of the pure Hebrew strain, their spirit remained the same, since they preserved and cherished the Mosaic law and the ancient traditions. There are sufficient evidences in the Scriptures, for that matter, of considerable mixtures of blood in the southern kingdom. To be sure, there the union was with the closely related Canaanites, who, it is generally believed, even supplied the Israelitish invaders with the so-called Hebrew language. In both cases, the mingling races were chiefly Semitic.

The Judæan kingdom survived for nearly a century and a half the fall of Samaria, but the handwriting was on the wall, and we may imagine the agony with which the devoted nation saw one after the other of its neighbors humbled and conquered. Its doom was the more painful as it was slow and progressive. It was repeatedly laid under tribute, but as often revolted, only to find its lot each time more cruel under the revenge of the remorseless enemy. Several of its kings were carried into captivity, and from time to time its country was devastated and large numbers of the inhabitants deported.

The power of the north, in the meantime, passed from Nineveh to Babylon, and it was the latter power which finally completed Judæa's conquest, and, after a siege of a year and a half, in about the year 587 B. C., destroyed Jerusalem, including its palaces and the holy temple. As in the case of Israel, the entire aristocracy and the more important part of the general population were carried off, this time to Babylonia.

This period of national ruin is the classic period of Hebrew prophetism. True Judaism emerged from the purging fires of affliction. The spirit of the nation was never conquered, and was voiced in those magnificent invectives and lyric elegies, on the one hand, and Utopian promises for the future, on the other, which have been preserved to this day. Their authors lived, some of them



during the dire period preceding the fall of Samaria, others during the similar period before that of Jerusalem, still others during the captivity of the Judæan exiles, among whom they were numbered, and others even later. Even in their exile, though they might reasonably look forward to no better fate for their brethren than that merger with their conquerors which had been the lot of Israel and other conquered peoples, they fiercely combated intermarriage and never despaired of eventual restoration. As usual in such cases, the splendid faith of such leadership eventually brought about the realization of its dreams. The burden of the prophetic song is a constant denunciation of the sins and idolatry of the people, an exultant trust in the ancient promise of their God, a confident prophecy of the re-establishment of the nation, and the optimism of a fervent belief that the cultivation of virtuous obedience to God's commands will make of that re-establishment a Utopian kingdom to be ruled from Jerusalem by God himself through a descendant of David.

That optimism constantly expresses itself in these writings. In them, even in their saddest refrains, there is seldom or never protest against undeserved misery. The tragedy of this people is deemed to be due to their sins, to their falling away from the divine worship and commandments. To the ordinary, secular historian the reflection must certainly occur that the nation could not ultimately have survived the overpowering odds against it, however great its virtues and however unenfeebled by moral decadence the stamina of its people. Moreover, several of the kings, particularly of Judæa, are stated by the priestly scribes to have done that which was right in the eyes of the Lord. This, the narratives show, meant that they destroyed, or endeavored to destroy, the

idolatries and attendant licentious practices of the people and insisted upon the pure worship of Jehovah, with the attendant destruction of the groves and the high places of the ancient superstitions. It is curious to note that the prophetic policy was generally that of prudence in the face of the enemy, as against the fiery desire of king and people to battle to the death rather than submit to unjust oppression. For the prophets were moved to the cautious policy of surrender and tribute by their passionate eagerness to preserve to a better day the life and autonomy of the nation, and, above all, the national worship in which they so devoutly believed.

Thus Jeremiah was engaged, throughout his long and tragic life, in a perpetual battle with the Judæan kings to prevent their resistance, in fact, to such an extent that he was accused by his enemies of a treasonable alliance with the enemy. His justification lies in the fact that the final destruction directly followed the disregard of his repeated admonitions. The prophet Isaiah in earlier reigns pursued a similar policy. Prominent in the narrative is his rebuke of the Judæan king, who, desperately seeking an alliance against Assyria with the Babylonian king, exhibited to the latter's ambassadors his resources. He was warned by the indignant prophet that, by this imprudent temptation of Babylonian greed, he had sealed the doom of his country.

Never again for any considerable length of time were the Jews to constitute an independent nation. Babylonia was soon conquered by Cyrus, the Persian king, who, about 536 B. C., permitted those of the exiles who so desired to return to their country. This many did at once and others, within the next century, under Ezra and Nehemiah. They multiplied and prospered. They rebuilt the temple, fortified Jerusalem and developed their cul-

ture, but always subject to the great empires which succeeded each other in the course of centuries, to the Persian first, then to the Greek, and later to the Roman.

Immediately after the restoration their local government was administered by the high priests and Persian satraps. It was about this time that their sacred writings, except a few later prophetic books, were put into their present form. The ancient monolatry was forever abandoned, and while the Jews still remained the favorites of Jehovah, he had become the only God, the creator, ruler and father of the universe and of all the nations. Disciplined by their sufferings and the fiery denunciations of their prophets, the Mosaic law became the daily inspiration of Jewish life. The prophetic attribution of the people's misfortunes to their former disloyalty was submissively accepted. Idolatry disappeared forever from their lives.

Thus, when the Greek rulers attempted to force idolatry upon them, their ancient spirit, rendered even more ardent by this purified confidence in a great and special destiny, showed itself in one of the fiercest wars that history records. This was waged, in the second century B. C., against tremendous odds under their heroic Maccabean leaders, who finally restored the monarchy under their own line. These kings from time to time were independent, but for the most part tributary. Under the Romans, until the final destruction of the nation, it was ruled either by subject kings directly or indirectly of this line, or by Roman governors of the various districts into which the country was divided. In the meantime, and under the many vicissitudes to which they were subjected, many of the Jews had migrated to the various great cities of the ancient world, so that even thus early they were scattered and known among all peoples.

Their spirit was manifested again in two great but

hopeless rebellions against the Roman power. The first ended in the destruction of Jerusalem and of the second temple, in the year 70 A. D., and the second in the virtual extirpation of the survivors under the alleged Messiah, Barkochba, some half century later. Both these wars were characterized by a fierce resistance and slaughter well-nigh unparalleled in ancient annals.

Our task, however, is not to set forth the details of Jewish history, but to attempt an account of the spirit and the content of that new theology which developed during this prophetic age, lasting roughly from the eighth to the fourth centuries B. C. Whether, as some are inclined to believe, the enlarged concept of God was the result of the Persian contact, or not, there can be little doubt that that and other contacts produced by the wars that preceded the exile and by the exile itself, brought into the Jewish beliefs many new features, including an angel hierarchy, a demon working among men, a physical resurrection from the grave, and a final day of judgment. It is highly improbable that the exalted Jewish conception of the Deity needed to borrow anything from the Persians. Yet, as is shown in the Scriptures themselves, an influential cult among that people, and particularly at this epoch, entertained a spiritual, monotheistic conception. This was the religion founded by Zoroaster, and it included not only Ormuzd, the universal and beneficent creator, but Ahriman, the power of evil, who was engaged in a constant warfare with Ormuzd, in which, however, it was part of the faith to believe, he was doomed to ultimate defeat. But the Jews never entertained any belief in the Devil's independence of, or even temporary equality with God. Satan, who now is infrequently mentioned in their writings, is always an inferior power, in fact, one of God's angels, perhaps evil in nature, or perhaps not necessarily so, but working God's will in ap-

parently evil ways for mystic reasons of Omnipotence which it is not for men to question or understand. Jeremiah tells us in his Lamentations that out of the mouth of the most High proceedeth both evil and good; and in Isaiah we are told that God forms the light and creates darkness, makes peace and creates evil.

The idea of the resurrection is certainly a new one. As we have already noted, the earlier Jewish traditions were barren of any distinct formulation of a life after death, either spiritual or physical. The most that can be said is that, like most ancient peoples, the Jews had a more or less vague and sporadic notion of a gloomy post-mortem existence in Sheol, the nether world. It never seems to have occurred to them, however, to look forward to any life there or elsewhere to balance the injustices of the present one. On the contrary, with their peculiar optimism, retribution was confined to this life. Those who made the proper sacrifices to the Deity and obeyed his revealed commands would surely have prosperity and long life in this world, while those who were backward in these respects were believed to constitute the unfortunates whose lives were passed in misery and disappointment.

Fret not thyself, sings the Psalmist, because of evil-doers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity; for they shall soon be cut down like the grass and wither as the green herb; trust in the Lord and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.

Wisdom constituted virtue, when virtue became more than correct worship; for, as is emphasized in the Proverbs, virtue consists in those restraints which a wise man finds necessary to happiness. The Psalmist says that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the Proverbs follow up this thought with the statement that fools (or, the impious) despise instruction; but it is



likewise insisted that wisdom will bring honor and to the wise man's head a crown of glory.

The Old Testament may be searched in vain for any distinct promise of retribution in a spiritual life to come, and, with several later exceptions, two of which will be presently noted, for any doubt of Jehovah's justice in distributing happiness or the reverse in the present life. Remember how short my time is, sings the Psalmist; wherefore hast thou made all men in vain? What man is he that liveth and shall not see death? Shall he deliver his soul from the hand of the grave? Wilt thou show wonders to the dead? Shall the dead arise and praise thee? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?

It was not until the prophetic age that even reflections like these appeared, but now the answer was forthcoming. In Hosea, in a passage of evidently difficult translation, it is said: I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death; O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave I will be thy destruction. And in a similarly difficult passage in Isaiah, it is said that the dead shall live and their bodies arise. And again, in Isaiah: God will swallow up death in victory.

These vague promises of victory over the grave are followed by that prophetic solution of the matter in connection with that of mundane injustice, which now appears for the first time. The Messianic kingdom is to be established on earth, but it is not to be enjoyed by the then living, alone. The dead are to be raised from their graves and to enjoy, with the living, the good times to come, when war and all evil and death shall permanently disappear from the world, which is to be ruled by God himself from the capital of his chosen people. Sheol becomes at last a place of punishment for the wicked.

Now for the first time, the illogicality of the older no-

tions is recognized. The belief in Jehovah's ancient promises and the consequent restoration of his people is fervent, but it is recognized that it is a narrow notion indeed to look forward to a purposeless favoritism from the God of the entire human race. The destiny of Israel thenceforward is the magnificent one of really becoming the priests through whom all nations shall be blessed. The acute suffering to which they had been subjected made these prophets, as probably has been the case with enlightened leaders of all ages, eagerly look forward to the time when, under their influence, the stupidities and passions of men should finally vanish, and such cruelties as those of which they had been such pitiable victims should disappear in a true human brotherhood, in which even the evil feelings which result in war should no longer exist, and in which, moreover, by God's miracle, savagery should disappear even among the beasts, and the lion should lie down with the lamb. This vision is not free from superstition, in that Jehovah was not to forget his ancient friends, but was to accomplish all this under the leadership of his anointed, the Messiah, who was to be born in Bethlehem, a descendant of his favorite, King David. In some of the prophetic writings, the new king is visioned as a great military leader who will prevail, in the establishment of the kingdom, only after a last and dreadful war; in others, as a man of peace, who is apparently to accomplish the same result in gentle ways. The real king, however, who is thenceforth to govern, not only the Jews, but the whole world, is to be Jehovah himself, whose representative the Messiah will be.

This was a very great advance on the old notion of the tribal god. That notion, which we have already explained, and which is prominent in the Scriptural accounts of the earlier periods, is illuminated by a perusal of probably the most ancient alphabetic document in the world, the frag-

ment of the Moabitish stone inscription of King Mesha, only discovered and translated in the last century, and which dates from the ninth century B. C. Mesha was that king of Moab who, when hard pressed by the Hebrews in war, burned his own son as a sacrifice to the national god, Chemosh, upon the walls of his capital city, and, who, according to the statements in this stone, when he took an Israelitish city, spared only the women, who were dedicated to the service of the Moabitish Astarte. The inscription is the usual ancient review of the royal achievements. That feature of it which it is desired to emphasize here, is the fact that, just as in the Scriptures kings and prophets introduce their divinely ordered deeds with the statement that Jehovah had said to them thus and thus, so here Mesha introduces his acts with the same statement in respect to Chemosh. The parallel is continued, moreover, by the attribution of Moabitish defeat to the fact that Chemosh was angry, and of victory to the fact that the god was again friendly with his people. The inscription is further interesting as mentioning Jehovah as the god of Israel, the sacred symbols of whose worship Mesha had dragged in the dust.

Jehovah, similarly, in the episodes of the earlier history, figures as the cruel tribal king whose human friends were those who flattered his vanity by appropriate sacrifices and achieved his glory by national victories. They were men too whose acts, even when commanded by the Deity, will not always stand the test of any system of morality. In fact, Jehovah typified the nation, and his friends, therefore, were those who aggrandized its, and, therefore, his power, in ways that signified no clear connection between the divine commands and an enlightened ethics. In the prophetic era, however, as the conception of God became more spiritual and vast, so with it became indissolubly connected the promulgation of his revealed com-

mandments as principles of conduct. Sad experience had convinced this people that there can be no safety or happiness for men, whether in their individual, national or international relations, without the inhibitions of a proper moral code.

Thus, the high mission of the nation became the spread, among all the nations of the world, of the worship of the universal, no longer a tribal God, and of the practice of a noble ethics embodied in his commandments. We have an early glimpse of this new conception in the interesting story of Jonah. This is the Jonah who, the story assures us, was swallowed and ejected by the great fish before he could be brought to the realization of his duty. The interesting part of the story, however, is not this miracle, but the fact that the duty which Jonah was thus compelled to perform was that of preaching the worship of the true God among the Gentiles, in the great city of Nineveh.

Now, of course, the central idea of the Messianic kingdom was the removal of evil from the world and the correction of that injustice in things mundane which the earlier writings seem so peculiarly to overlook. The Jewish thinkers had begun to be troubled about this problem, and their ultimate solution was the happy day when justice should be meted out not only to the living but to the dead of centuries, when the graves should open their mouths and give them forth, so that they also might enjoy, in the blessed kingdom about to be established on earth, a happiness which, for the most part, they had not known in their lives.

Presaging this solution is the curious philosophy in two remarkable books of the Old Testament, Job and Ecclesiastes, which stand almost alone in expressing doubt of the early optimism. Job was a man of great virtue, who revered God. He was eyes to the blind and feet to the

lame. He brake the jaws of the wicked and plucked the spoil out of his teeth. He was a father to the poor. God praised his virtues before the angels including Satan, but the latter argued that it is easy to be good when one is not tempted. God having thereupon given Satan the privilege to test Job by affliction, his prosperity rapidly disappeared, his slaves were slain, his cattle destroyed, and finally even all of the happy children whom he loved, killed by a tornado. In spite of his agony, Job did not turn against his Maker. He said, Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return. The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken; blessed be his name.

But then Satan smote Job with a painful and loathsome disease and he was reduced to abject despair. His friends came to comfort him in his anguish, but their comfort consisted in the prevailing notion that these unparalleled afflictions must be due to his own wickedness. Job bitterly resented this, insisting upon his innocence, and, though he never raised his voice directly against God, his pious resignation was all but nullified by the hopelessness of his despair. He cursed the day that he was born and prayed for death, which came not. In the grave, he said, the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. What is my strength, he cried, that I should hope? And what is mine end, that I should prolong my life? When I lie down, I say to myself, When shall the night be gone? and I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawning of the day. As the cloud vanisheth, so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more. God is wise and mighty. He spreadeth out the heavens. He maketh Arcturus, Orion and Pleiades. He doeth great things past finding out. Who will say unto him, What doest thou? He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked. He is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him.



These exalted ideas of divinity, nevertheless, do not inspire Job with faith. He looks forward to nothing beyond his present misery; for, immediately after these expressions, he repeats that he is weary of life and prays his friends to cease worrying him before he goes whence he shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death. He admits that it is not his to question why God should afflict him, but he insists upon his right to despair before a divine injustice beyond his understanding. He says that though God slay him, he will still maintain that the fault was not his own. He says, There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, but man dieth, and where is he? Till the heavens be no more, the dead shall not awake nor be raised out of their sleep. In the words that after the worms destroy a man's body, yet in his flesh shall he see God, the idea of immortality, but in the flesh, is mentioned, though without emphasis; and it is clear that Job can understand no reward for virtue but an earthly one.

Finally, however, God spake to him out of a whirlwind and said, Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge? Where wast thou when I laid the foundation of the earth? When the morning stars sang together, and all the angels shouted for joy? Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven? Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are? Shall he that contendeth with the Almighty instruct him?

Then Job answered, Behold, I am vile; what shall I answer thee? God said, Gird up thy loins now like a man. Wilt thou condemn me, that thou mayest be righteous? Job's final answer is, I know that thou canst do anything and that no thought can be withholden from thee. I have uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for

me, which I knew not. Wherefore, I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.

This then is the conclusion. It is that of agnostic faith; an assertion of God's inscrutableness and man's duty of faith in him and his revealed commandments. In fact, it is a return to the old philosophy, though with a novel, if partial, recognition of the fact that virtue and vice do not always find an earthly retribution. For Job had been only put on trial. Afterwards, his virtues were rewarded, his health was restored, wealth came upon him in even greater abundance, and other children were born unto him. This is comforting, but amounts philosophically to a re-assertion of the invincible Jewish optimism.

The writer of Ecclesiastes finds all things to be but vanity and vexation of spirit. He bitterly rebels against the prosperity of the wicked and the torment of the virtuous. This man has had every experience. He has tried to eat, drink and be merry, to find happiness in indolent self-indulgence. He has tried work. He has tried the amassing of wealth and the gratifications of luxury. He has tried study and passionately sought wisdom. He finds happiness in nothing, and chiefly because, in all events, man must die. He says, In much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow. There is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool. And how dieth the wise man? As the fool. I hated all my labor because I should leave it unto the man that shall be after me. As the beast dies, so dies the man. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.

Another reason for despising the search for wisdom was its hopelessness. We can never pierce the veil. Though a man labor to seek wisdom, says this writer, he shall not find it. The injustices of this life, moreover, repel him. He insists that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle

to the strong, neither yet bread, riches or favor to the wise; but time and chance happen to them all. A poor, wise man delivered the city; yet no man remembered him. The poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard.

For a moment we think we have discovered his palliative in work, for he says, Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; but he immediately gives as his reason for this wholesome advice the reflection that there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave. In fact, his constant refrain is death. Neither work nor virtue nor wisdom avails, since death destroys all. He says, There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, to the clean and to the unclean. For him that is still alive there is hope. A living dog is better than a dead lion. For the living know that they shall die; but the dead know not any thing.

The conclusion of this philosophy of despair is startling. It comes of a sudden in words of such different thought and phrased in such different style that one is tempted to believe that a later hand penned them. That conclusion is: Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh; fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man.

These last few words express the heart of Judaism. Coming after the preceding pessimism, which they rebuke, they merely corroborate the earlier belief, while correcting its mundane optimism. But if the great God has revealed himself and his commandments to a chosen people, who, as his priests, are to carry the message to the entire world, and if there can be no assurance of justice in this life, too short in any event, the only logical outlook of the faith in God ultimately commanded, however unquestioning, must be the hope of life after death. And this solution speedily followed, as we have seen, in the idea of

a resurrection and continued, fleshly existence in God's kingdom on earth. The idea of a spiritual immortality was a much later development.

Before the kingdom of God could be set up, however, the Jews must be first restored to their country; and there must develop that intense loyalty to their God and his law which should fit them for their stupendous leadership. Hence the burning words of patriotism which appear in the writings of this age, and that literal and undeviating loyalty to the law which, the Jews were taught to believe, was so awfully revealed amid the thunders of Sinai. While perhaps the spirit, rather than the letter, ruled at first, the extreme reverence for the law thus engendered made of it a fetich. And not only was this attitude gradually developed toward the law itself, but also toward the writings of the scribes and rabbis, commenting upon its text and adding supposed oral traditions claimed to have descended from the time of Moses himself. Thus ultimately were produced those strict devotees of the letter of the law and the traditions, the Pharisees, who at a later day aroused the ire of Jesus of Nazareth. And, in fact, some of their refinements might be compared to those of the Christian mediaeval scholastics, who debated such questions as the number of angels that might dance upon the point of a needle.

It is likely that many of the provisions of the law were written in these days, particularly such Utopian ideas, probably never put into actual practice, as the sabbatic years and the year of jubilee, during which men were to rest from their labors, the ground was to lie fallow, slaves were to be freed, the natural produce of the land was to belong to the poor, and various rules, rather of generosity than of justice, with regard to debtors, were to be enforced.

The fervent patriotism we have just mentioned is

voiced in such passages as those of the Psalmist who sings: By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song and mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy. And then, indicative of the passions of the time, follows: Happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee (Babylon) as thou hast served us; happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones.

As for the newer conceptions of the Deity, note the following: When I consider thy heavens, sings the Psalmist, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained, what is man that thou art mindful of him? Thou hast made him little lower than the angels and hast crowned him with glory and honor. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet.

And again: The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork. Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them. But thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end. My God, thou art very great; thou art clothed with honor and majesty; who coverest thyself with light as with a garment; who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain. He layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters; he maketh the clouds his chariot; he rideth upon the wings of the wind. Once more: Lord, how great are thy works and thy thoughts



are very deep; a brutish man knoweth not, neither doth a fool understand this.

In Isaiah we read, Thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones. And also: The heaven is my throne and the earth is my foot-stool; yet I look to him that is pure and of a contrite spirit and trembleth at my word. In the same vein: Who is like unto the Lord, who dwelleth on high, who humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven and in the earth.

Of the restoration and the new kingdom we read in Jeremiah, that prophet whose sad lot it was to witness the destruction of Jerusalem: At that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of the Lord; and all the nations shall be gathered unto it; neither shall they walk any more after the imagination of their evil heart. For after those days, saith the Lord, I will write my law in their hearts and they shall be my people, for they shall all know me and I will forgive their iniquity and remember their sin no more. I will put my fear in their hearts that they shall not depart from me. In those days will I cause the branch (or scion) of righteousness to grow up unto David, and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land.

In the book called by the name of Isaiah, that prophet who lived in the times of the destruction of Samaria and who had only too much reason to expect the same fate for his own beloved country, we read: Therefore, saith the Lord, I will avenge me of mine enemies. Zion shall be redeemed. The destruction of the transgressors and of the sinners shall be together and they that forsake the Lord shall be consumed. And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be

established and all nations shall flow into it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye and let us go up to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways; for out of Zion shall go forth the law. And he shall judge among the nations and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

And again: There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow out of his roots. The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding. With righteousness shall he judge the poor and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them; the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek. And it shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall recover the remnant of his people and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.

Again it is said, in a passage of apparently difficult translation: They shall fear the name of the Lord from the west and his glory from the rising of the sun. When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him. And the Redeemer shall come to Zion. In other passages: The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, to proclaim the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all that mourn. Ye shall be named Jehovah's

priests and shall eat the riches of the Gentiles. And the Gentiles and all kings shall see your glory. You shall no more be called forsaken, nor your land desolate.

In the Psalms we read: O let the nations be glad and sing for joy for thou, O God, shalt judge the people righteously and govern the nations upon earth. Arise, O God, judge the earth; for thou shalt inherit all nations. All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name.

In Ezekiel we are told that God has promised the chosen people to assemble them out of the countries where they have been scattered and to give them again the land of Israel with one heart and a new spirit. Thus saith the Lord: I will save my flock and they shall no more be a prey. I will set up one shepherd over them, even my servant David. He shall feed them. They shall no more be a prey to the heathen, but shall dwell safely. For I will take you from among the heathen and gather you out of all countries and bring you into your own land. And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be my people and I will be your God. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves. And neither shall my people be divided into two kingdoms any more at all.

In Daniel, it is said that God shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, which shall break in pieces and consume the other kingdoms and shall stand forever. That prophet, we are told, said: I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven and was given dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

In Joel it is said: Proclaim ye this among the Gentiles, Prepare war. Beat your plowshares into swords and your pruning-hooks into spears. Assemble yourselves and come, all ye heathen. Let the heathen be wakened and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat, for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about. The sun and the moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall withdraw their shining. The Lord shall roar out of Zion and the heavens and the earth shall shake. So shall ye know that I am the Lord dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain. There shall no strangers pass through her any more. Judah shall dwell forever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation.

In Micah, we are similarly told that many nations shall take the law from Zion and that in that time the nations shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks and that nations shall not make war any more. The Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion from henceforth, even forever. And again in a passage translated, disputedly, as follows, in the Authorized Version: Thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

In Zephaniah it is said: Wait ye upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I rise up to the prey; for my determination is to gather the nations to pour upon them mine indignation. At that time will I bring you again; for I will make you a name and a praise among all people of the earth. And in the Psalms a king is promised in Zion who shall be given the heathen and the uttermost parts of the earth, and who shall break them with a rod of iron and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

According to the book of Zechariah, God promised a scion of David who should rebuild the temple and who should rule upon the throne of Jehovah, who will be king

over all the earth. It was further said that ten men of foreign nations shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you. In the same book is the following passage, interesting for a reason to be noted presently: Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy king cometh unto thee; he is just and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass and upon a colt, the foal of an ass.

We have seen above how Ezekiel promises that on the establishment of the kingdom, the dead shall be brought back to life. So, the book of Daniel closes with the same promise: And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince (or angel) which standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as there never was since there was a nation even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book; and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

A well known passage in Isaiah often cited, and indeed in the Gospels themselves, as prophesying the coming of the Messiah is the following: Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel (God is with us). While we shall note later how eager the writers of the New Testament were to make the life of Jesus conform to the old prophecies, we shall now mention two such cases. Some of the Gospels are silent on the matter of the virgin birth, but others tell that story and point to it as confirmation of the above prophecy. In the same way, in order to confirm the prophecy in Zechariah, quoted a little earlier, above, Jesus is made to enter Jerusalem upon an ass and its colt.

The passage from Isaiah as to the virgin is taken from



the Authorized Version, but other translators intimate that the word for "virgin" could just as well be translated "a young woman," and that the statement is not that the young woman shall conceive, but that she is with child and shall bear a son to be called Immanuel. However this may be, a careful reading of Chapters VII and VIII of Isaiah, where the story is told, shows that the prophetic words are used in a connection that renders rather absurd any attempt to regard them as a reference to the Messiah.

Ahaz, the king of Judaea, was trembling with fear of an attack about to be launched against him by the confederated kings of Syria and Israel. Isaiah tells him, in the name of Jehovah, not to worry, since the confederacy will not be successful. The prophet asks the king whether he wishes a sign and, when he is answered in the negative, states that Jehovah himself shall give him a sign, which is to be, as above quoted, the conception by a virgin, or a young woman, whichever be the correct translation, of a son to be called Immanuel. It is added that, before this child shall know the difference between good and evil, Syria and Israel shall be ruined (by the Assyrians).

The prophecy of the failure of the attack on Judaea, however, did not turn out correctly. To be sure, we are told in the second book of Kings, Chapter XVI, that the northern kings besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him, even if they did meet with some success, and that Ahaz then negotiated an alliance with the king of Assyria, who destroyed the confederacy and took Damascus. In the second Book of Chronicles, however, Chapter XXVIII, these events are told in much greater detail, and there it appears that, before Ahaz sent to the Assyrian king, he had met a great defeat at the hands of the confederacy. We are there told that one hundred and twenty thousand of the army of King Ahaz were killed in battle in one day and hundreds of thousands carried off into captivity

by the Syrian and Israelitish kings; and that then the Judæan king sent for aid to the Assyrian king, who, according to this narrative, proved of no assistance.

Moreover, in Isaiah, closely following the passage concerning the conception of Immanuel, we are told of an incident which possibly means the immediate fulfilment of the prophecy and the giving of the necessary sign to Ahaz. It is said that a prophetess conceived and bore a son, of whom it is also said by Isaiah that, before it shall have the knowledge to cry, My father, and my mother, Damascus and Samaria shall be taken by the Assyrian king. To be sure, the name of this child was not Immanuel; but neither was that of Jesus.

Though the time of Daniel was in the sixth century B. C., the book which bears his name is pretty generally believed by scholars to have been written as late as the second century B. C.; and, in fact, from that period which we have designated the prophetic age until the time of Christ, the Jewish literature was enlarged by a considerable number of writings, generally termed apocryphal, not included as part of the Bible. These give a most interesting view of the times and continue the same general conceptions which we have taken the pains to set forth at some length above. It should not be forgotten that in these ancient days the knowledge of writing and reading could not have been wide-spread. As a rule they were the monopoly of the scholarly and leading classes, but some of the current literature reached the people through oral instruction. We may be sure the portions to find the greatest vogue among the masses were those which created the most vivid pictures. Prominent among these were the passages which voice the general prophetic love of the ancestral, simple life, and the accompanying distrust of wealth and civilization; and also the so-called apocalypses or revelations, not at all rare, which were written during

this period, notably Enoch and Esra, and which filled the country-side with the hope of the Messianic advent and the fear of that awful day when the mystic Son of man should appear to judge the world. In these books we are given illuminating pictures of this day of judgment when, preparatory to the founding of the Utopian kingdom, the dead were to arise and justice was at last to be done. The virtuous, both living and dead, were to be preserved for a never-ending, if earthly, happiness, while the wicked were to be weeded out and condemned to suffer everlasting torments in the fires of Satan's Gehenna.

Such a literature naturally introduced the days when, to fulfil its visions, Messiahs were appearing, only to disappoint; and such were the ideas circulating among the people when Jesus of Nazareth was born.

## CHAPTER V

### THE NEW TESTAMENT ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIANITY UNTIL THE CRUCIFIXION

CONSIDERING the suffering of the Jews, particularly that of the humbler classes, under the heavy exactions of the Roman governors, it is not surprising that the Messianic promise of liberation, restored glory and even universal rule, should have nourished in the masses both hope and that fear of fatal mistake which is to be expected in face of the dangers of unsuccessful revolution. It is natural that the latter should have proved the stronger sentiment.

There is much in the New Testament tradition, emerging from its actual writing in later days, which indicates that the original notion of Jesus of Nazareth, or of his followers, was the immediate establishment by him of God's kingdom on earth. This notion, however, was doomed to such disappointment in the face of the physical weakness of its early support, its rejection by the vast majority of Jews and its fatal confrontation by the adamant power of Rome, that it became later modified, as some passages indicate, into a belief in the second coming of Jesus, the Messiah, after his crucifixion, when he was miraculously to establish the kingdom. Later still, when that coming was delayed beyond the generation to which it had been promised, this doctrine appears to have been further modified into the more spiritual one of a kingdom not of this world, but of heaven. It is not, however, our task to discuss such questions, but rather to set forth the

Biblical narratives as they stand, with the idea of inquiring later, whether, even as written and without the benefit of critical and scholarly dissection, they present such an account of things as may appeal to the adult consciousness of modern men.

If one were disposed to adopt the critical method, it might be doubted at the outset, but on internal evidence alone, as will presently appear, that Jesus was born at Bethlehem, as the narrative states and ancient prophecy requires. He was the son of Mary, and, ostensibly, of Joseph, a carpenter, her husband, humble denizens of the town of Nazareth in Galilee, and there his infancy and youth were passed, until, at the age of about thirty years, he began the preaching of his message.

The Gospel of St. Matthew begins by a genealogy which attempts to show, again in accordance with prophecy, that Jesus, through Joseph, was a direct descendant of David. A genealogy set forth in Luke for the same purpose is somewhat different. Neither appears material, since we are told that Joseph was not the father of Jesus, inasmuch as the latter was miraculously born of Mary while still a virgin, the espoused wife of Joseph. His birth in this way was announced to Mary at Nazareth, as we are told in the Gospel of St. Luke, by an angel of God, so that might be fulfilled the words of the prophet, Behold a virgin shall be with child and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel. This is the prophecy discussed in the last chapter.

Some months before, in line with similar tales of the miraculous birth of other great men in the history of the Jews from old and infirm parents, a child also had been promised in Judaea by an angel of God to an aged couple, Elisabeth and her husband, the priest, Zacharias. This child was John the Baptist, who, we are told, was the re-



incarnation of Elijah, come to announce the coming of Jesus as the Messiah or (in Greek) the Christ.

The Gospel of Matthew tells us that when Jesus was born in Bethlehem, in the days of Herod, the king, who was the Roman governor at that time, there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east and are come to worship him. This troubled Herod, who demanded of his chief men where Christ should be born. They answered that according to prophecy this must be in Bethlehem. Herod thereupon sent the wise men to search there and bring him word of this birth. The star led them until they found the boy with Mary, his mother, and worshiped him.

Joseph thereupon, being warned by an angel of this danger, fled with the child and its mother into Egypt, and remained there until the tyrant's death, that an ancient prophecy might be fulfilled which said, Out of Egypt have I called my son. The allusion here is to a passage in Hosea which can only be tortured into meaning more than that, when Israel was young, God loved him and delivered him out of Egypt, or loved him since the days of Egypt. King Herod, when the wise men did not return to him with the information they had promised, sent forth and slew all the children, two years old and younger, in Bethlehem and in all the coasts thereof. This was quite a cultured period, but no classic historian gives us any account of this colossal crime. Under divine advice, Joseph, when Herod was dead, returned to his country with the child and its mother, but, when he heard that the son of Herod ruled in Judaea, he settled in Nazareth.

The other Gospels, except Luke, ignore the birthplace of Jesus. There we are told that Joseph lived first in Nazareth, but that, as the time approached for the birth

of the divine child, an imperial decree went forth for the taxing of the Roman world, under which each man must be taxed in his own city; and that, in obedience to this decree, Joseph went from Nazareth to Bethlehem because he was of the house and lineage of David. He took Mary, his fiancee, with him, and then, according to this account, in Bethlehem, in a stable, because there was no room in the inn, was the king of the Jews and the God of the universe born unto his fleshly life.

Shepherds in the neighborhood were visited by an angel who said, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the City of David, a Saviour which is Christ, the Lord. Suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. The shepherds went with haste, found Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger, and spread the news of the divine child's birth.

The new message, therefore, in the form in which it comes to us in the Gospels as finally written, begins with the dogma, hitherto regarded as vital to the Christian creeds, that men are born in sin, and with its corollary, the virgin birth, since that which is divine may not partake of human sensuality. This is a fitting prelude to a religion of asceticism, which, reversing the old Jewish optimism, teaches the evil of worldly indulgence and the hopelessness of human sin, from which may be redeemed, only by God's grace through Christ, those who are of the elect. It was reserved to a much later age for the doctrine to be established, that Mary also, the holy virgin, mother of God, must also have been immaculately conceived, free from the taint of human passion.

John the Baptist began the new message by preaching, in the wilderness about the river Jordan, the doctrine

of repentance for sins. Repent ye, he cried, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand; and he baptized in the Jordan his followers who confessed their sins. Like Elijah, he wore raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle about his loins, and he ate no meat, his food being locusts and wild honey. He preached, I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.

Then came Jesus from Galilee to the Jordan to be baptized by John, who, however, forbade him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? But Jesus answered, Suffer it to be so. Then John baptized him, and as Jesus went out of the water, lo, the heavens were opened, and the Spirit of God descended like a dove lighting upon him; or, as we are told in St. Luke, the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him. Then from heaven came a voice which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

Jesus was now led by the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil. He fasted forty days and nights, and then the tempter said: If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread; to which Jesus answered, It is written, man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Then the devil set him on a pinnacle of the temple in Jerusalem and said, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down. Jesus answered, It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord, thy God. Then the devil placed him on an exceeding high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world, and said, All these things will I give thee if thou wilt worship me. But Jesus answered, Get thee hence, Satan. Then the devil left him, and angels came and fed him.

Thereafter Jesus began actively his ministry, chiefly in the teeming villages of the beautiful lake country of Galilee, but visiting, at least once, perhaps oftener, during the several years of his short career, the Judæan country and Jerusalem. His preaching was supplemented by stupendous miracles. He healed lepers and the sick, gave sight to the blind, and even restored the dead to life, in one case a man who had been actually in the grave for several days. On at least two occasions he fed thousands of men from a few loaves of bread and a few fishes. By a similar act of will, he converted water into wine.

He had but to command and the devils that obsessed the insane and the wicked were driven out. He cast seven devils out of Mary Magdalene, who, thereafter, followed him in penitent love and loyalty until his death. In the country of the Gadarenes he met a man possessed by a legion of devils, who, at his orders left the victim, praying to their Master, however, to permit them to enter into a herd of swine feeding in the vicinity. And when, careless of the unfortunate owners of the swine, he permitted the devils to do so, the herd forthwith, in madness, leaped from the crags into the sea.

The essential to his successful healing was absolute faith in his powers on the part of the beneficiary. In fact, he taught that others, with sufficient faith, could also perform miracles. When his apostles were affrighted on the lake of Galilee, Jesus walked out to them from the land on the surface of the turbulent waters, and, when he had joined them, commanded the storm to cease, which it did. As he walked thus on the waters, Peter, of the company of his apostles, asked whether he could not leave the boat, walking likewise on the waters, to meet his Master. Jesus said, Come, and Peter actually walked on the water to meet him. But when Peter saw the wind boisterous he was afraid, and, beginning to sink, he cried, Lord save

me. Immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand and caught him, and said, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt? This doctrine is likewise taught in the following words of the Master, Have faith in God, for whosoever shall say unto this mountain, be thou removed and be thou cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, he shall have whatsoever he saith.

But the greatest miracle of them all, except the resurrection of Jesus after death, was his so-called transfiguration. He took Peter, James and John from among his apostles with him unto a high mountain, apart, and was transfigured before them. His face shone as the sun. His raiment was white as the light. Moses and Elijah appeared unto them, talking with Jesus. A bright cloud overshadowed them, from which a voice said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him. Then the three disciples fell on their faces and were afraid, but Jesus touched them and said, Arise and be not afraid. When they had lifted up their eyes, they saw no man save Jesus, and when they came down from the mountain Jesus said, Tell the vision to no man until the Son of man be risen again from the dead. When they then asked him why the scribes had said that Elijah must come first, Jesus answered, Elijah is come already, but they knew him not. Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.

The gentle Master taught, in the synagogues and in the open, great multitudes of the lowly and ignorant; and gathered about him, to carry on his work, a company of twelve apostles of the same class, humble and ignorant rustics. There is no controversy as to this. Not only is the fact expressly and repeatedly asserted in the Scriptures that Jesus and his apostles were uneducated men, but it is insisted, not only by Jesus, but by his apostles, that the message is not to the wise and the learned, but to



the ignorant and humble in heart, and that salvation will not be found except by those who approach God in the spirit of children. On one occasion Jesus said, I thank thee, O Father, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes. And in the Epistles and elsewhere it is asserted that the weak and lowly will confound the wise, and that God will make foolish the wisdom of this world.

Jesus' following was not so large in his own city of Nazareth, where his parents dwelt together with several other sons and daughters. There, people said, Whence hath this man this wisdom and these mighty works? Is not this the carpenter's son? It was in reference to this, that Jesus uttered the well known saying, A prophet is not without honor save in his own country and in his own house. On one occasion, as he was preaching, his mother and relatives came to restrain him, thinking him demented. They must have forgotten, at least the mother, that the angel of God had miraculously revealed, before his birth, his divine mission. Jesus, when told of their presence, answered that those to whom he preached, those who heard and obeyed the word of God, were his true mother and kinsmen.

It does not detract from the beauty and tenderness of his teachings of love and pity, and from the matchless language in which they are clothed, to call attention to the fact that many of them were the rabbinical doctrines of the time. On the whole, it may be said, however, that while Judaism does teach the message of peace, good will, charity and love, its chief emphasis is upon justice, while that of early Christianity is upon love. We shall presently set forth the more important of the Master's doctrines, including those unquestionably new ones, peculiar to Christianity, which, departing from the standards of jus-

tice, teach submission to evil-doers, aversion to wealth, and even improvidence.

The preaching of Christianity to the Gentiles became a clear policy of the church only after Jesus' death and after rejection by his own people. He even expressly instructed his twelve apostles not to go unto the Gentiles nor even the Samaritans, but rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Thus sending them forth, he gave them power to heal the sick, to raise the dead and to cast out devils, and instructed them to preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. He further instructed them, Fear not them which kill the body, but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set man at variance against his father and the daughter against her mother. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me. And he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.

Jesus called himself the Son of man, that mysterious phrase used by the prophets and in the apocalyptic literature of the time, but which does not seem to carry any special connotation of divinity. In fact, Jesus himself said that to speak against the Son of man is pardonable, but not so, to speak against the Holy Ghost. In explaining the parable of the sower and the tares, he said, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man; the field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked; the enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are burnt in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this

world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire. There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth. The angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the just.

Many of the finest and most characteristic of Jesus' sayings, though scattered in the other Gospels, are, in that of Matthew, gathered together as having been delivered in the sermon on the mount. There Jesus said: Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out. If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies and pray for them which persecute you. When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth. Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust corrupt and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore, I say unto you, take no thought for your life,

what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body more than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air; for they sow not, neither do they reap. Yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin. And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Therefore, take no thought saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you. Take, therefore, no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Judge not that ye be not judged. Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye.

In line with this system of ethics is the treatment by Jesus of the rich young man who desired to become a follower. The young man insisted that he had kept all the commandments of the law and inquired what further was necessary. Jesus replied, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me. When the young man heard this he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions. Then said Jesus unto his dis-

ciples, Verily I say unto you that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven; it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. When his disciples were astounded at this doctrine and inquired who then could be saved, he answered, With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible. And when his disciples reminded him that they had forsaken everything to follow him, he answered, Everyone that hath forsaken houses or brethren or parents or wife or children for my name's sake shall inherit everlasting life. But many that are first shall be last; and the last shall be first.

The Master's mission was more particularly to the lowly and wretched. On one occasion, he said, Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest; take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart. The following story illustrates this. At the invitation of a Pharisee, Jesus dined with him, and, while he sat at table, a harlot entered and, weeping, washed his feet with her tears, dried them with her hair and kissed and anointed them. Jesus, answering the unspoken thought of the Pharisee, that if he were a real prophet he would have known the character of this woman and would have forbidden her to touch him, inquired which of two debtors would love their generous creditor more, the one who had owed most or the one who had owed least. The Pharisee replied that that debtor would love more to whom had been forgiven more, and Jesus said, Thou hast rightly judged. Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she hath washed my feet with tears and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss, but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint, but this woman hath anointed my feet. Where-



fore, I say unto thee, her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much. And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.

A similar story is told in relation to the adulteress brought to Jesus by the Pharisees, who, calling his attention to the Mosaic law which commands, in such cases, death by stoning, inquired, What sayest thou? Jesus stooped down and, with his finger, wrote on the ground, as though he heard them not. When they continued asking him, he lifted up himself and said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her. And again he stooped down and wrote on the ground. Then they, being convicted by their own conscience, went out, one by one, and Jesus, being left alone with the woman, said to her, Woman, where are thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more.

The life of the Christian is one of renunciation. The Master said, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me. When one about to follow him asked for permission to go first and bury his father, Jesus replied, Let the dead bury their dead; but go thou and preach the kingdom of God. When another asked permission first to bid farewell to those of his household, the Master replied, No man having put his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God. Again he said, If any man come to me and hate not his father, mother, wife, children, brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. And whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me cannot be my disciple.

The tale is told by Jesus of the beggar Lazarus, who, full of sores, lay at the gate of the rich man who fared sumptuously, desiring to be fed with the crumbs of his

table. When the beggar died he was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom. The rich man also died and in hell lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeing Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham afar off, he begged of Abraham for mercy. Abraham, however, said: Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus evil things. Now he is comforted and thou art tormented. Abraham further reminded the tortured, rich man that between them was a great gulf fixed, which could not be passed. And when the tormented soul, in the height of self-denial, prayed that someone be sent to his brethren to warn them of the terrible fate in store for them if they repented not, Abraham replied, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

The Sadducees, calling the Master's attention to the law which requires a man to marry his brother's widow, inquired whether this should be done repeatedly on the successive deaths of a number of brothers, until seven had married the same woman; and, if so, whose wife the woman would be after the resurrection. Jesus answered: Ye do err not knowing the scriptures nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven. But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken to you by God saying, I am the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.

When Jesus saw his own death to be imminent, he promised, on more than one occasion, that he should return, during the same generation, for the final judgment. There be some standing here, he said once, which shall not taste of death until they see the kingdom of God. When his disciples asked him for the sign of his coming, he answered that there should first be wars and troublous

times, with nation rising against nation, and famines, pestilence and earthquakes, and that, the Gospel having been preached in all the world, the end should come. He said that unless those dreadful days should be shortened there should no flesh be saved, but that for the elects' sake, whom God hath chosen, he would shorten the days. And after those days, he continued, shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven. Then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven and the tribes of the earth shall mourn and see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled. Watch, therefore; for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come. When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. To those on the right hand the King shall say, Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungered and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me. And to those on the left hand, the King shall say, Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire; for I was hungered and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. And these shall go away into ever-

lasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.

Jesus insisted that he had not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. Nevertheless, in many ways he modified it, notably in relation to divorce, which, contrary to the old teaching, he permitted only for fornication; and there are several passages in the Gospels and later apostolic teachings that seem to prohibit it even for that cause. Moreover, the few occasions on which the wrath of the gentle Master is aroused are those of his debates with the Pharisees, whom he accused of hypocrisy in yielding meticulous and ostentatious obedience to the letter of the law, while ignoring its spirit. To them, Jesus said, Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye pay tithes and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith. Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. Ye outwardly appear righteous but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?

Nevertheless, it was the Pharisees who were the religious element of Judaea in these days. They even believed in the ultimate establishment of God's kingdom and in the bodily resurrection of the dead. It was the Sadducees who were the more worldly and materialistic thinkers of the time.

Jesus finally went to Jerusalem. Perhaps it was his first visit; at all events it proved to be his last. Perhaps he went in the happy confidence of establishing his glorious kingdom of peace and good will; if so, he was doomed to a speedy disillusionment, which ended in his arrest and execution. As he approached the city, he sent two

of his followers to procure for him an ass and its colt. They decked the ass and the colt and set him thereon, and thus he entered the city amid a great multitude who spread their garments in the way and cut down branches and strew them in the way. We are told that all this was done that the ancient prophecy, quoted in the last chapter, might be fulfilled.

Jesus on his entrance into the city drove out the money changers and others who bought and sold in the precincts of the temple, preached to the people and engaged in controversy with the Sadducees and Pharisees. He seems to have caused considerable excitement, so that the high priest, the scribes and the elders, who probably, by reason of their fear of Rome, dreaded disturbances, particularly under the leadership of one who called himself the king of the Jews, determined to make an end of him.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE NEW TESTAMENT ACCOUNT OF THE CRUCIFIXION AND RESURRECTION

**J**ESUS, according to the sacred account, was under no delusions as to his fate and predicted it to his disciples. At the last meal with them, preceding his arrest, he took bread and, blessing it, distributed it among them, saying, Take, eat; this is my body. Then he took the cup and, giving thanks, handed it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. After the meal Jesus promised the twelve apostles that when he had risen from the dead he would precede them into Galilee.

That night, Jesus prayed, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt. And as he prayed, an angel appeared and strengthened him. The preservation to posterity of this beautiful prayer is itself a marvel, for Jesus delivered it apart, and when he rose from it found his companions sleeping. Addressing them, he said, Sleep on now, and take your rest; behold the hour is at hand, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Behold he is at hand that doth betray me.

Then Judas Iscariot, the traitor among the twelve, appeared in the hiding place with an armed force to arrest Jesus. All the accounts agree that one of his apostles, defending him with a sword, cut off an ear of one of the officers; but Jesus restrained him and miraculously restored the ear. Even this miracle availed him nothing. He

was taken before the high priest and the leading men of the Jews. Before these judges two false witnesses testified, saying of Jesus, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it in three days.

According to the Gospel of John, this does not seem to have been altogether false testimony, for there it is stated that Jesus had publicly said, Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up; to which his critics replied, Forty and six years was this temple in building and wilt thou rear it up in three days? But, says the narrator, explaining this, he spake of the temple of his body; meaning that he thus predicted the resurrection of his body three days after his death.

Jesus answered nothing to the accusation as to the temple, but when he was asked by the high priest whether he was the Christ, the Son of God, he answered, Thou hast said; nevertheless, I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. This question and answer are varied slightly in the account of Luke, where the answer of Jesus is, If I tell you, ye will not believe; and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me nor let me go; hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God. Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am. Again somewhat differently is the account given in John. There we are told that the high priest asked Jesus of his disciples and of his doctrine, and that Jesus answered, I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? Ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them.

The Jewish authorities then brought Jesus before the Roman governor, Pilate, and demanded his death. The governor asked him, Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus

replied, Thou sayest. This account in Matthew is supplemented in Luke and John. According to the former, king Herod, the governor of Galilee, happened to be in Jerusalem at the time, and Pilate, hearing that Jesus was a Galilean, had him brought before the king, but Jesus declined any answer to Herod. According to John, when Pilate inquired of Jesus whether he was the king of the Jews, Jesus answered, Sayest thou this thing of thyself or did others tell it thee of me? Pilate answered, Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me; what hast thou done? Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence. Pilate thereupon said, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king; to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. And Pilate said, What is truth?

Pilate finally, washing his hands of the matter, yielded to the Jews and ordered Jesus to be crucified. The soldiers, putting on him a scarlet robe, a crown of thorns upon his head, and a reed in his right hand, bowed before him and mocked him, saying, Hail, king of the Jews! Then they took him to the place called Golgotha and crucified him, together with two thieves, one on either side. They divided his garments, casting lots, we are told by the narrator as in the case of so many incidents of his career, that an old prophecy might be fulfilled. But the allusion is to the twenty-second Psalm, which is hardly a prophecy, but a song depicting the agony of some unfortunate victim, who cries, referring to his triumphant enemies: They part my garments among them and cast lots upon my vesture. This victim also protests to God, in the language of Jesus as he yielded up the ghost, and of many millions

of others conquered by life or by death, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

The thieves who were crucified on either side of the martyr, joined the mob in taunting him, saying that, if he were all he claimed, he should now be able to descend from the cross. This account is varied in Luke, where it is stated that while one of the thieves railed, the other rebuked him, saying that, while they were condemned justly as thieves, Jesus had done nothing; and he said to Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. Jesus answered, Verily, I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.

As Jesus died, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, the earth quaked, the rocks were rent, the graves were opened and many bodies of the saints which slept arose and, after his resurrection a few hours later, went into the holy city and appeared unto many. There is no reference to these stupendous events in any Roman or other record of this highly literary period; nor for that matter, except as to the temple veil, in any Gospel account other than Matthew's.

Many women, of the followers of Jesus from Galilee, were present at the crucifixion, ministering unto him, among them, Mary Magdalene, Mary, the mother of James and Joses, and, according to Matthew, a third described as the mother of Zebedee's children. The third mentioned by Mark was one Salome. In John we are told that there stood at the cross, besides the two Marys, a third Mary, the mother of Jesus. We are told there, moreover, that when Jesus saw his mother and near her the reputed author of this Gospel, his disciple, John, he said unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son; and to the disciple, Behold thy mother; and that, from that hour, John took the mother of Jesus into his own home.

We are now in the presence of the tremendous event

that, according to the Gospels, followed; the resurrection of Jesus in the body on the third day after his death. He had foretold it for that day. It actually took place some thirty-six hours after his death. He died on a Friday afternoon and had left his tomb before dawn on the following Sunday. A rich follower had obtained the body and given it reverential burial in a new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock. He rolled a great stone to its door and departed.

According to Matthew, the chief priests and Pharisees warned Pilate that, as Jesus had predicted his resurrection on the third day, the sepulchre should be made secure, lest his disciples steal the body by night and claim that Jesus had risen from the dead. So, with the permission of Pilate, they sealed the sepulchre and set a watch. Early on Sunday morning came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre, whereupon there was a great earthquake and the angel of God descended from heaven and rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning and his raiment white as snow. In fear, the keepers shook and became as dead men. But the angel said to the women, Fear not; I know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified; he is not here, for he is risen as he said; come see the place where he lay. The angel then instructed the women to go quickly to the disciples and inform them that Christ was risen and would go before them into Galilee, where they should all go to meet him. The women departed with mingled fear and joy and ran to bring word to the disciples. But on their way, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. They held him by the feet and worshiped him. Jesus said, Be not afraid; go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee and there shall they see me. The watch reported the disappearance of the body to the Jewish authorities, who thereupon bribed the soldiers to say that the disciples had



stolen it while they slept. The eleven disciples then went to Galilee and saw Jesus and worshiped him, though some doubted. Jesus spoke to them, saying: All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

According to Mark, the two Marys and Salome came to the sepulchre early on Sunday with spices to anoint the body and wondering who would roll away the great stone from the door of the tomb. When they looked, however, they saw that it had been rolled away. Entering the tomb, they saw a young man sitting on the right side clothed in a long white garment, and they were afraid. The young man, however, said to them, Be not affrighted; ye seek Jesus of Nazareth which was crucified; he is risen; he is not here; go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him as he said unto you. The women, trembling and amazed, fled, but said nothing to any one by reason of their fears. Immediately after telling us this, however, Mark adds that Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene, who told it to the disciples as they mourned and wept, but they believed not. After that Jesus appeared in another form unto two of them as they walked in the country. And these two told it to the others, but again they believed not. Afterwards Jesus appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart. He said, Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak

with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover. After having thus spoken, Jesus was received up into heaven and sat on the right hand of God.

Luke tells us that some of the Galilean women, visiting the grave early, Sunday morning, to anoint the body, found the stone rolled away, but on entering the tomb found no body. As they stood perplexed two men stood by them in shining garments. They were afraid and bowed to the earth; and the two men said, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here but is risen; remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be crucified and the third day rise again. These women, among whom were Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, left the tomb and told these things unto the eleven apostles and to the remainder of the group, but were not believed. Peter, however, ran to the sepulchre and wondered as he saw the linen grave clothes with no body in them. Two of the apostles went that day to a village near Jerusalem and were met by Jesus, but did not recognize him. Jesus inquired as to the happening which they were all discussing and which seemed to make them so sad. They told him of the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people. They told him how they had hoped that he was the prophesied redeemer of Israel, and how certain women had reported that he had risen from the grave, and how the body had actually disappeared. Then the ostensible stranger said, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken; ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into his glory? Then, beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things that concerned the Messiah.

Still the disciples did not recognize him, but asked him to spend the night with them. As they sat at meat, he took bread and blessed it and brake and gave to them. Then their eyes were opened and they knew him, but he vanished out of their sight. They returned to Jerusalem the same day and, finding the eleven gathered together with their followers, the two reported that the Lord was indeed risen. As they were speaking, Jesus suddenly stood among them and said, Peace be unto you. They were all then terrified and supposed they had seen a spirit. But Jesus said, Why are ye troubled? Behold, my hands and my feet, that it is I myself (displaying his poor wounded limbs). He said further, Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have. To prove further to them that he was present in the flesh, he ate. He then, to open their understanding, addressed to them precious words, not reported in the other Gospels, nor indeed at length here, which repeat, however, the general tenor of his message that he was the Messiah who had come in fulfilment of the ancient prophecies, and which state that he had suffered and risen on the third day as predicted, and that repentance and remission of sins must be preached in his name among all nations, beginning in Jerusalem. He then led them out as far as Bethany and there, while blessing them, was parted from them and carried up into heaven.

We have a further account of the resurrection in the Acts, a book which states itself to have been written by the author of Luke's Gospel, a statement in which scholars concur. There we are told that Jesus appeared to the eleven apostles not only on the Sunday, but during a period of forty days thereafter, speaking to them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. He commanded them not to leave Jerusalem until they received the promised baptism of the Holy Ghost. They inquired

whether he was now to restore the kingdom of Israel, that is, whether this was his second coming. He answered, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power; but ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and in all Judaea and in Samaria and unto the uttermost parts of the earth. When he had spoken thus, he ascended to heaven.

In John we are told that the tomb was in a garden at the place of the crucifixion. Early, Sunday morning, Mary Magdalene visited it and saw that the entrance stone had been removed. She ran to the disciples, Peter and John, and said that the body had been taken away and that she knew not where to find it. Peter and John then ran to the tomb, John, who is supposed to be the narrator of the story, outrunning Peter. John stooped, looked into the tomb and saw the linen clothes lying, without the body. Peter then entered and after him John and they saw that the body had disappeared. Although the prediction, to the apostles, of the resurrection on the third day is so often repeated in the Gospels as we now have them, and although it was known even to the Pharisees, who warned Pilate of it, this narrator tells us that John and Peter knew not as yet that Jesus must rise again from the dead. They left the tomb. Mary stood without, weeping. She finally also looked within and saw two angels in white, one at the head and the other at the foot of the place where the body had lain. As she told them why she wept she turned around and saw Jesus, but she knew not that it was he. Then Jesus said, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekst thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, said: Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him and I will take him away. Then Jesus said, Mary. She turned and said, Master. Jesus said, Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go thou to my brethren and



say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father and to my God and your God. Mary told the disciples that she had seen and spoken with the Lord. On the evening of the same day, in the hiding place of the disciples, Jesus appeared among them and said, Peace be unto you, and showed them his wounds. Further he said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.

Thomas, one of the apostles, still according to the Gospel of John, was missing on this occasion, and, when the others told him of it, he refused to believe unless he should see with his own eyes the wounds on Jesus' body. Eight days later, still in Jerusalem, Jesus came to them, talked with them further and exhibited his wounded body to Thomas. Then the latter believed, and said, My Lord and my God. But Jesus rebuked him saying, Thomas, because thou hast seen me thou hast believed. Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed. Many other signs truly did Jesus on this occasion, which we are told are not written in this book. It adds, however, that Jesus showed himself again to the disciples in Galilee. While they were in a ship on the lake, Jesus stood on the shore, but they knew not it was he. Then Jesus performed a miracle for them by which they were not able to draw in their nets by reason of the multitude of fishes. John, the ostensible writer, said to Peter, It is the Lord. Then Peter cast himself into the water in his hurry to greet his Master. They all landed and ate with Jesus. None of the disciples durst ask him, Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord. During the meal, Jesus predicted to Peter his subsequent martyrdom, and to John, who seems to have been the most long-lived of the apostles, he intimated that he should tarry unto his second coming.



We also have an account of the resurrection by Paul who, as we shall see, became a Christian much later. His account is admittedly not that of an eye-witness. Neither, however, are those above set forth. There is no pretension of first-hand testimony in the case of Luke or Mark, even if one could believe that they are the actual authors of the Gospels which bear their names. As for the Gospels of Matthew and John, it is not necessary even to appeal to scholarly opinion of their much later authorship. The internal evidences are sufficient to establish, as to them and all the accounts, that there is no possible way to find first-hand reliability in any. Disregarding entirely the incredible nature of their contents, one need only place the important events of the different accounts in parallel columns to see this impossibility. It will suffice here to point out a few of the surprising discrepancies. These are too great to be accounted for as the usual variances of human fallibility, particularly in an inspired narration of what, if true, is the greatest event in the history of the world.

The rolling away of the stone by the angel, in the presence of the women, to the accompaniment of an earthquake, while the soldiers on guard shook, described in Matthew, is not mentioned elsewhere, not even the earthquake. In the other accounts, the stone had already been removed when the women arrived. In some of them two angels appeared, in others, but one. According to Matthew, Jesus sent word through the women to the eleven apostles to meet him in Galilee, where he appeared to them, revealing his Divinity in a message of stupendous importance. According to Mark, the appearance to the eleven was apparently in Jerusalem and on the same day, and the divine message is reported with important variations and additions. According to Matthew, the Lord appeared at the tomb to the two women; according to

Mark, only to one; both omit any reference to an appearance there of Peter or John. According to Luke, Peter followed the women to the tomb, and, according to John, both Peter and John. In John, we are first told that Jesus showed himself, not only to the women at the tomb and to the apostles in Jerusalem, but also again to the latter in Jerusalem eight days later, and finally in Galilee; while in all these accounts the witnesses vary, by important additions or omissions, the very words of Divinity, at no time numerous, addressed to the women and the apostles. As to whether there had been an ante-mortem promise of a meeting after death in Galilee, and whether the scene of the marvelous event or events was actually there or in Jerusalem, the accounts are in hopeless confusion. That of Acts seems to preclude even a forced interpretation of a final appearance in Galilee after the forty days and the ascension in Jerusalem.

Paul's account adds still other difficulties. He says that Jesus rose on the third day, was seen by Peter, then by the twelve, then by above five hundred brethren at once, then by James, then by all the apostles, and last of all by Paul himself. This last is an allusion to the vision which converted Paul, which will be mentioned in the next chapter. This account does not give the times or places of the appearances. It ignores those to the women. It alone mentions a separate appearance to Peter or James, or to as many as five hundred. Moreover, at least its first allusion to the appearance to *twelve* apostles is curious. Scripture is elsewhere careful to limit this to eleven. The traitor, Judas Iscariot, was no longer of the number. From Acts we are led to believe that it was not until after the Lord's ascension in or near Jerusalem at the end of the forty days with the eleven, that the twelfth, Matthias, was elected. But perhaps the election of the twelfth apostle was earlier than appears to have

been scripturally intimated or perhaps the meaning is that Matthias was a witness to the Lord's appearance, before his election.

It is curious to note that, according to one account in the holy Scriptures, Judas repented of his treason immediately after its perpetration, proffered the return of the blood-money to the Jewish authorities, on their refusal, threw it away, and then hanged himself; while, according to another, he is stated by Peter himself to have purchased a field with the blood-money and, as the result of a fall, burst asunder in the midst so that all his bowels gushed out.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE NEW TESTAMENT ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIANITY UNDER THE APOSTLES

THE outline of the life and doctrines of Jesus of Nazareth set forth in Chapter V has, for the most part, followed the first three Gospels and not that of John, the fourth. The picture is that of an uneducated man, who is, however, rich in sympathy for the poor and the downtrodden, and who carries to them a message of future bliss to compensate for present ills. Critically viewed, these first three Gospels might very well be regarded as presenting Jesus as a prophet, greater, it may be, but still like Moses and Elijah, and completing their mission. His teaching was of gentleness, pity and love; and of a God who is a tender Father to men, at least excluding the unfortunate damned who are not of the elect. If, in his silent meditations in the hills of Galilee, Jesus felt himself at one with the great Spirit, whom he sensed rather than reasoned to be immanent in Nature, there is yet nothing authoritative to negative the opinion that he did not regard himself as the Son of God in any sense other than that in which all men are his sons and part of his universality.

He did feel himself convinced that he was the long promised Messiah. Perhaps, in despair at the hopelessness of earthly victory over imperial Rome, he hoped to establish a spiritual power over his own people. Perhaps, as he saw that this conception was not welcome to that people, who were expecting a king miraculously to

restore their independence and establish the prophesied Utopian kingdom, and as he found himself rejected by the great majority, and finally in danger of execution, he may have persuaded himself that it could not possibly be true that his profound faith was false, and, hence, that he was to return in overwhelming power, by the might of his Father in heaven, in order to establish Israel's kingdom of God on earth. His teachings, as reported in the first three Gospels, though it is difficult to separate them from those which may be the additions of the later periods in which these Gospels were written, or in which they were supplemented and modified, clearly vision the resurrection of the dead in the body, the earthly rule of the Messiah over the virtuous or fortunate elect living at the day of judgment and over those then resurrected, and the damnation of the non-elect. He seems to have promised clearly that these things would happen during his own generation; and, as we have just seen, John, who lived the longest of his apostles, continued to hope for his final return in power. As time went on, however, and still Christ did not come, doubts arose as to whether the second coming was to be in a near or in a remote future, whether the kingdom of God was to be an earthly or a spiritual one, and as to many other matters of still deeper theology.

After the death of Jesus it was the good fortune of the new church, and one which apparently alone saved it from living, and probably dying, as a mere Jewish sect, that there were taken into the fold men educated in the learning of the Greeks. These men saw in the beautiful Messianic doctrines and in the pathetic death of their expounder, much that might be joined to other and more or less foreign ideas, in the foundation of a new world-religion to supplant the pagan cults, then expiring under the Roman domination of the thus united old nations and beliefs.



Paul (originally known as Saul), who by many is regarded as the real founder of Christianity, was a Jew versed in the alien learning of his times. His writings, as they have come down to us, show him to have been a man of great force and of a subtle, if narrow intellect. He it was who insisted, against great opposition, on carrying the Christian message to the Gentiles. The thought and language of the eastern world and, indeed, of many of the educated Romans themselves, was Greek. And so it was that, in that tongue and with the addition of Greek subtleties, the simple doctrine of the rustic followers of Jesus of Nazareth was propagated.

Paul, who had at first despised and persecuted the Christian sect, was converted by a wonderful miracle, narrated to us in several accounts, which will now be set forth. According to the principal version in Acts, as Paul, on a journey to Damascus, approached that city, there suddenly shone around him a light from heaven. He fell to the earth and heard a voice, saying, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? He said, Who art thou, Lord? The Lord said, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest; it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. Paul, trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me do? The Lord said, Arise and go into the city and it shall be told thee what thou must do. The men with him stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man. Paul arose but could not see; so they led him by the hand to Damascus. He was three days without sight and did not eat or drink. At Damascus, the Christian, Ananias, being instructed by the Lord where to find Paul, visited him and miraculously restored his sight. He was immediately baptized, and preached in the synagogues.

Later in Acts Paul is reported to have delivered a speech at Jerusalem, in which he gives the following account of his vision. As he approached Damascus about

noon, there suddenly shone from heaven a great light round him. He fell to the ground and heard a voice saying, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? He inquired, Who art thou, Lord? The Lord said, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. Those that were with him saw the light and were afraid, but, contrary to the first version, they heard not the voice. Paul said, What shall I do, Lord? The Lord replied, Arise and go into Damascus, and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do. As he could not see, being blinded by the light, he was led into Damascus. Ananias came to him and restored his sight.

Again, we are told in Acts that Paul, under arrest, speaking before Herod Agrippa, the king, gives this account of the matter. As he went to Damascus, he saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining around him and around them which journeyed with him. When they were all fallen to the earth (the preceding versions omit this), he heard a voice saying, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. Paul said, Who art thou, Lord? The Lord replied, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. But rise and stand upon thy feet; for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes and to turn them from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me. This last, priceless speech of Divinity, though here reported as made at the time of the original vision, is omitted in the other two accounts above set forth, while part of it is, in the second, put in the mouth of Ananias

and, in the first, a still shorter variant is reported as having been spoken by Jesus to Ananias.

These various versions have been set forth as a good example of the way a legend grows even in the lifetime of the man who first utters it. Paul may originally have meant only to say that the vision had appeared in his heart. For elsewhere he writes, God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ; and again, It pleased God to reveal his Son in me that I might preach him among the heathen.

However this may be, from that time Paul was the ardent apostle of the new faith. His first great battle was with the other apostles. They naturally considered themselves his superiors in that they had been from the beginning with Jesus, whom Paul had never known. Moreover, it seems never to have dawned upon them, or only fitfully, that the new message was for the whole world and not for the Jews only. They could not understand how the Messiah of the Jews should be rejected by them and be the Saviour of the heathen. They were willing to make proselytes, but insisted that they must conform to the Mosaic law, including circumcision. It was a tremendous victory, involving the very life of the new religion, when Paul succeeded in overthrowing these fatal restrictions. Whether he did thus succeed among the churches of the twelve, or only partially or sporadically, is involved in doubt, owing to the confused accounts of Scripture. What is certain, however, is that Paul and others, Jews and Gentiles, under his leadership, vigorously preached Christianity, freed from the ancient legalism, throughout the Roman world.

That world, however, not having been trained, like Judaea, to the worship of spirit without bodily symbol,

soon showed that the new faith, to be accepted, must be rendered considerably more concrete than pure Judaism. This demand was met by the Christianity of those parts of the New Testament which are widely believed by students to represent a later development than the primitive story of the three first or Synoptic Gospels. In this later Christianity, we find a complicated and Graecized theology. We need not consider the Acts of the Apostles inasmuch as that book contains little in the way of doctrine. It recounts Paul's battle against Mosaism, some of his travels and services among the Gentiles, and the early history of the church and its miracles in Jerusalem and a few other eastern cities. It tells us how the members sometimes spoke with tongues, which perhaps means that, emotional rustics as they were, they worked themselves into such states of religious ecstasy that their tongues ran riot with incomprehensible gibberish; for, while some by-standers claimed to recognize many different languages, others, we are told, believed the speakers drunk. One gathers also from this book that some in the church gradually reconciled themselves to the rejection of the Messiah by the Jewish nation.

The books which best show the development of the new theology are the Gospel of John, the various Epistles of Paul and other of the early apostles to their associates and to various church communities, and Revelation. Jesus becomes God incarnate. His death becomes a mystic, vicarious, blood Atonement to placate the divine wrath and thus to save at least some of the human race of hopeless sinners. The doctrine of the elect, hinted in the Synoptics, becomes now hardened into a creed. And the apostle John, if, as many Christians believe, he was also the writer of Revelation, not only accepts this cruel doctrine that only those elect from the beginning shall escape eternal damnation, but even is able to give us, by divine revelation, the



precise, and, alas, small number of the Jews of all time, who are to escape the brimstone fire, to which the vast majority of their brethren are forever consigned in substitution for the Messianic kingdom of their hopes.

The Gospel of John is by most scholars deemed to have been written considerably later than the first three Gospels. It merges with Christianity in a remarkable manner the contemporaneous Greek subtleties. The outlook of the Jews, even of the most informed classes, had always been naive. Or, at least, their theology had been that of assertion based on faith and scorning ratiocination. Never, therefore, had they attained the genius of the Greeks in piercing, by intellectual processes, through the appearance of things to an unknowable reality. For them revelation sufficed. The new Platonism of these times, however, deeming unknowable and impossible of relation with a finite world, the absolute and infinite Godhead, found necessary the concept of a mediator, which it called the Logos or Word, to bridge the gulf. And, at the very outset, John's Gospel gives us to understand that Jesus is this Logos, a part of God and yet God; while this Gospel and a passage, in an Epistle attributed also in the Scriptures to John, which critics believe to be a much later interpolation, intimate that that manifestation of Divinity which enters by God's grace into men's hearts is the Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost, which constitutes, with the Father and the Word, the inscrutable mystery of the Holy Trinity.

The Epistle in question says, Whosoever denieth the Son the same hath not the Father; he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also. And again: Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ. It is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. And finally (the passage be-



lieved to be interpolated), There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.

The fourth Gospel starts out, In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; and proceeds to tell us that Jesus was the Word and the Light. He was in the world and the world was made by him and the world knew him not. He came unto his own (the Jews) and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God. The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. Of his fullness have all we received, and grace for grace. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.

Here are some of the mystic sayings of Jesus in this Gospel: God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. He that believeth not is condemned already. The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself. The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice and shall come forth, they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation. Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.

There are some of you that believe not, said Jesus, who, the narrator adds, knew from the beginning who they were that believed not and who should betray him. This doctrine of election is rendered clearer in these words of Jesus, Therefore, said I unto you that no man can come

unto me except it were given unto him of my Father. And, in praying to the Father, Jesus said, Thou hast given thy Son power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him; I pray not for the world but for them which thou hast given me. But though, according to this doctrine, the field is thus limited to the elect, we are told in an Epistle, also attributed to John, that the Son was manifested in the flesh that he might destroy the devil's works.

Below are presented some further sayings from the fourth Gospel. When the Jews marvelled saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned? Jesus answered, My doctrine is not mine but his that sent me. Again, he said, Ye are from beneath; I am from above; ye are of this world; I am not of this world; if ye believe not, ye shall die in your sins; if a man keep my saying he shall never see death. And when he spoke of Abraham rejoicing to see the day of Jesus, and the Jews asked whether he claimed to have seen Abraham, Jesus replied, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am.

When the Jews asked that Jesus should tell them plainly whether he was the Messiah, he answered, I told you and ye believed not; but ye believe not because ye are not of my sheep; my sheep hear my voice and I know them and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life; my Father which gave them me is greater than all and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand. I and my Father are one. The Father is in me and I in him. I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live. And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.

As a touching example of humility Jesus washed the feet of his apostles, and then said: If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to

wash one another's feet. If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them. I speak not of you all; I know whom I have chosen.

Again: In my Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself. I am the way, the truth and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me. If ye had known me ye should have known my Father also. He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. Believest thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in me? The words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself, but of the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works. I will pray the Father and he shall give you another Comforter that he may abide with you forever, even the Spirit of truth. Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more, but ye see me; because I live, ye shall live also. At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father and ye in me and I in you. The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things. This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. When the Comforter is come, he shall testify of me. It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you.

The dogma of the elect, and that of salvation by faith alone and not by works, in opposition to the Pharisaic belief that man becomes acceptable to God through performance of the requirements of the law, are crystallized in the Epistles, though, as we shall see, their apostolic writers themselves differed somewhat on these, to them, vital subjects. Paul says that all have sinned, and are saved only by the grace of God through the redemption that is in Christ, whose death was a propitiatory atone-

ment to God for the sins of men. Where is boasting then? said he. It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay, but by the law of faith. Therefore, we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.

Called upon to meet the argument that this might lead men to continue in sin, seeing that they were saved by grace only, he answers that true faith makes a man dead to sin. Again he says, that we are saved through faith by grace, by the gift of God, and not of ourselves and not of works, lest any man should boast; and he argues that God has preordained the faith and works of the elect. Again, he says, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, that, being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.

With the doctrine of the elect is, of course, associated that of predestination. Paul says: Whom God did foreknow he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son; moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called, and whom he called he justified and glorified. God that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? And again: God hath chosen us (the elect) before the foundation of the world that we should be holy, having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself. In an Epistle attributed to Peter, he also addresses his flock as elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.

The doctrine of salvation by faith did not go uncontradicted even in the inspired Scriptures. In the Epistle of James, it is said, What doth it profit, my brethren,

though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? Can faith save him? Faith, if it hath not works, is dead. A man may say, thou hast faith and I have works; show me thy faith without thy works and I will show thee my faith by my works. Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well; the devils also believe and tremble; but wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead? When Abraham offered his son Isaac upon the altar, faith wrought with his works, his faith was made perfect. Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only. As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.

Christian asceticism permeates the Epistles. By reason of the original sin of Adam and Eve man has become hopelessly corrupt and can be saved only by divine grace, which, however, has been rendered possible only by the atonement of Jesus, who offered himself as a blood sacrifice for all men. In one place, we are told: Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. The world passeth away and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth forever. Again: I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members; O, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?

The doctrines of the Trinity, incarnation, original sin, atonement, spiritual resurrection, and the second coming, are all developed or discussed in the Epistles. When the mystery grows beyond human comprehension, inquiring men are there rebuked for their presumption in inquiring as to the things of God. O, says Paul, the depth of the



riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out! And his subtle mind gives utterance to the ancient philosophic truth: The things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal. And once more: Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen; through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.

In the celebrated fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, Paul undertakes to explain the mystery of the resurrection. He argues that some will say, How are the dead raised up and with what bodies do they come? But he answers that that which is sown is not quickened except it die, when it emerges with a different body, and that there are two kinds of bodies, spiritual and physical. The dead is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. He ends with the sublime words: When this corruptible shall have put on incorruption and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written (quoted from Isaiah in a preceding chapter), Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

There is a hint of mystic knowledge in Paul's writings, similar to that cosmic consciousness which the more modern members of the mystic school tell us their great men have had, whereby have been seen with the eye of ecstasy the intellectually unknowable things, which language is incapable of repeating, however, to ordinary men. Thus Paul tells us of the vision of a man (probably himself), who was caught up into the third heaven, whether, says Paul, in the body, I cannot tell, or whether out of the

body I cannot tell; God knoweth. But he was caught up into paradise and heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter. This, Paul tells in defending himself against the charges of his enemies in the church who liked not some of his teachings, and, it is probable, particularly those in relation to the Mosaic law. He tells of this experience and other exploits, not, he says, by way of boasting, for he glories more in his weaknesses than in his strength; because the conquest of his weaknesses shows the grace of God. My strength, says he, is made perfect in weakness; most gladly, therefore, will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me; therefore, I take pleasure in infirmities, in persecutions, for Christ's sake; for when I am weak, then am I strong.

It is interesting to note the fact that, in practice, Christian peoples either forget or disregard the divine character of the Bible. The allusion here is not to sporadic action, but to deliberate legislation. Many Christian states have adopted laws permitting divorce on grounds absolutely forbidden by the teachings, not only of the apostles, but of Jesus himself. The recent wide-spread legislation for the emancipation of women is in direct opposition to the divine revelation and particularly to the Epistles of Paul. There we find the command that women must not be allowed to speak in the churches and must be held in complete subjection to their husbands. The Scriptures generally treat wine as a divine boon which makes glad the heart of man; and every one knows the important position held by it in the Lord's supper. In the Epistle of Paul to Timothy, it is said, Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities. Perhaps this is to be regarded, not as a general command, but as advice to Timothy alone. But, while there is elsewhere no express command for the use of wine,

because its benign nature is assumed, and while its abuse is sternly rebuked, Scriptural approval of its moderate enjoyment is everywhere implied. This has not prevented that recent legislation which has enslaved a great nation beneath the yoke of an absolute prohibition, adopted chiefly, wisely or unwisely, under the influence of the most extreme form of Bible worshipers. It is amusing to note also, in connection with another modern habit, that the inspired Epistles say that even nature itself teaches us that if a man have long hair it is a shame to him, but that if a woman have long hair it is a glory to her. Thus, in some respects at least, inspiration has not been allowed to interfere with what is deemed to be modern progress.

The book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine completes the New Testament. It is an astonishing production. It may have been selected for the sacred canon solely by reason of its assured revelation of true, if appalling things; for, almost alone among the Biblical books, other merits elude the ordinary critic. Its chief subject is the final destruction of the world; and its description of that tremendous event defies scientific tests, as its wild imagery defies literary ones. Its hair-raising pictures of the blood and sufferings of the destruction, as well as of the eternal torments that are to follow in a hell of fire and brimstone, may have been well calculated to terrify into conversion hesitant proselytes, at least among the unsophisticated. What is of interest in it here is that, following, but adding to the ancient prophecies, it develops the same end as that depicted in the other apocalypses of its own times. It tells of the speedy approach of the last judgment day, when the sea and the grave are to deliver up their dead and all men are to be judged according to their works. This latter statement, made more than once, does not seem to be in harmony with the equally inspired Pauline revelation of judgment according to faith. It

tells us further that the heaven and the earth are to pass away, but that new ones are to be created, though there is to be no more sea. On the new earth the new city of Jerusalem shall arise, where, as announced to the writer by a great voice from heaven, God is to dwell ruling the fortunates who shall have been saved. For them, he is to wipe away all tears; there shall be no more sorrow or pain or crying or death. But the sinners of all time shall lie in Satan's lake, which burns with fire and brimstone.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE NEED OF A NEW BIBLE

**I**T is believed that the last six chapters contain a just summary of the cosmology, ethics and philosophy of the Bible. Since the days of its compilation the world has made a certain amount of progress, which, while little enough in proportion to the vast conquests yet to be made, is still sufficient to render the Biblical contents, at least to modern, educated minds, little short of childish. Such, however, is the strength of the old tradition and the handicap under which men even to-day struggle toward a truer insight, under age-old educational influences designed, more or less deliberately, to hamper them, that it is unfortunately still necessary to discuss a truth that ought to be self-evident.

Many a man has lived to full maturity still treasuring as fact some of the phantasies and fears of childhood, only to awaken suddenly to the realization that they are impedimenta unrelated to reality. And as in such cases the dark is no longer the abode of hideous spectres and the problems of actual life are no longer dependent upon early fancies, so the time is approaching when the scales shall drop from the eyes of the race. It also will awaken with a start to the fact that, even as magic delights and solaces are provided only for the protected days of childhood but, alas, can no longer be trusted by the mature man, so the race, with what equanimity it may muster, will be compelled to forego reliance upon the visions of antiquity.



This method of outlook has been gradually extending during the last two centuries and with a greatly augmented impetus during the last fifty years. It is probably true to say that most of the thinking class have by this time adopted it. Judging from the current literature, however, its general acceptance even by that class is not yet complete, though the times do not fail to indicate that such acceptance by them, and not merely in the partial and distorted form current among some of them, will not be long deferred. Once this has been accomplished among the leaders of thought it will be surprising how speedily among the masses the darkness of ancient superstition will be dissipated.

It ought not to be necessary to point out that in this discussion there must be a sharp differentiation of the two aspects which the Bible presents. The first is that of the literature of the ancient Hebrews developed in the course of centuries; that in which the Bible expresses their national soul and its growth. In this aspect it is, of course, absurd to speak of inadequacy or of the need for a substitute. One might as well advocate rewriting the literature of the English, if any one could be imagined to be dissatisfied with that incomparable achievement. The Bible will always constitute for the scholar and the historian a priceless heritage.

It is only the unfortunate bigotry by which discussion of this really historical question is so often clouded that makes it necessary to emphasize the fact that the attribution of childish inadequacy to the Bible applies only to that aspect of it, in virtue of which it has been constituted a text-book of religion, or rather, in order not to corrupt that word, a text-book of authentic magic. In the last analysis, it will be seen that the Bible has developed into such a text-book in answer to the profound need of suffering humanity for light and solace. What

will satisfy that need, however, changes as the race ages. Infantile comforts no longer suffice.

The depth of this need and the urgency of the related question of its satisfaction are illustrated in the constant conflict between romanticism and realism in the general field of literature and art. Men to-day may view the hostilities of Nature and, alas, of their brother men, in a more knowing way than they did two thousand years ago, but still their need is for comfort in the hard struggle against ever present, if diminishing, adversities. This is the reason why so many love to escape reality by reading romances in which impossible heroes of superhuman virtue, skill and strength master and put to rout, notwithstanding apparently overpowering odds, the evil forces of their enemies. This is the reason, too, why at least our weaker brothers seek escape from the cruel facts of life in air-castles wherein the wicked are confounded, if not by the material sword of the all-conquering hero, better still by the dreamer's own sharp glance of divine superiority, which he likes to imagine literally withering the vicious with its contempt. If, in the calmer fields of non-religious controversy, men are quicker able to realize the futility of such spectacular relief, they are able, nevertheless, to find also some profound verity underlying visionary beauty. So, too, the truly religious, as we shall see later, may be able to find some basis in reason for the hope that realism need not conquer the romanticism of faith, even if intellectualism convince them that this basis must be found in profounder truths than youthful phantasy.

The bibles of the ancients are the product of romanticism. To them it was a comfort and incentive to imagine, during favoring periods of national virtue or repentance, the undoing of enemies and the dissipation of misfortune through supernatural intervention. To the poor multitude, for example, groaning under foreign oppressors,

what a wonderful relief it must have been to vision the lightning of heaven summoned by the commanding figure of the inspired Elijah for their discomfiture and destruction! What a relief and inspiration, in the same way, it must have been to the discouraged followers of the unfortunate Jesus, when all his fair promises seemed to have perished with him on the cross, to vision his later return in might in the clouds of heaven, when the all-crushing power of Rome was to be destroyed by his single fiat and his humble followers were to reign in the new Jerusalem in triumph over the wicked rich and powerful of this world, who were to be hurled into the fires of hell.

Permeating all literatures, ancient and modern, we have similar pictures of the humiliation of power at the behest of simple virtue aided by the magic forces of the unknown world. And to this day, even among people sufficiently educated to believe themselves beyond such notions, there is the same fascination in the magic arts of a Balsamo or Cagliostro as the ancients found in the stories of a Hercules or a Moses. It is the same as that by which the ancient desert-wanderers, escaped from the oppressions of Egypt, took pleasure in picturing the all-powerful king of that country, with all his legions and chariots of war, consigned to destruction by the outstretched rod of Jehovah's prophet.

Historic forces have so shaped themselves that, whereas most of these romances have been relegated to their proper place as such in the ancient literatures, one particular set of them, those embraced in the canonical books of the Hebrews, have, through the development of Christianity in the Occidental world as a universal religion, been long treated as the inspired words of God. The forces of church and state have conspired for twenty centuries thus to elevate the Bible for the adoring worship of humankind.

Such is the weakness of men, such their fears before the pains of life and the terrors of death, that they have clung to it as the only thing that certainly promised them salvation. Men cannot resign themselves to the inevitableness of their suffering; neither are they able to understand, or at least they are unwilling to believe, that, with such noble faculties as they are so surprisingly able to develop, they should be doomed to die like dogs. And since their unaided reason has been unable to penetrate to an assured and comforting solution of these problems, many still shudder with horror at that abandonment of this ancient book of magic, which their intellects command. They feel that if this fetich must vanish before the illuminating torch of reason, if all they are entitled to believe are the harsh realities that confront them, they are helpless indeed. It has taken and will take a long and bitter schooling before they awaken to the fact that Nature is so constituted that they have themselves alone upon which to rely in the earthly battle for peace and happiness.

So many, even in the churches, really adopt this view of the Bible, and it is so reasonable a view, that it is one of the marvels of human psychology that many still cling to this ancient authority in defiance of reason. Some attempt explanations of certain incredible features of the story, which, nevertheless, leave its backbone unaltered. Unwilling to surrender that, they turn and twist in a manner which, if it represented less than it does the torture of agonized souls, could be deemed little less than hypocrisy. They try on the one hand to share in the knowledge of their age by the rejection or explanation in natural ways of many details of this mythology, inconsistent with that knowledge, while, on the other, they seek to hold firmly to the central dogmas which are the most



incredible of all; blinding themselves to the fact that these central dogmas must fall with the details which they reject.

When such men are told that they must believe that the world was created in six days about six thousand years ago, or that the story of Babel represents a true account of diversities of language, or that Jonah was cast into the ocean and saved by the great fish under divine command, or that Elijah and Jesus and the ancient Enoch were translated to heaven in the body, they indignantly refuse to do so. They account for these things, though perhaps most of them would differentiate the translation of Jesus, as the legends and myths of a poetic age. When they are told that Jehovah miraculously divided the waters of the Red Sea so that the Israelites might cross, and miraculously brought back the flood to overwhelm the pursuing Egyptians, or that in the desert the chosen people were fed by divinely produced manna, or that the bitter waters of the desert wells were made sweet by the magic of the seer, they find the explanation in a poetic language which thus describes natural events such as changes in tide and the like. When they are told that the thirsting desert hordes of the chosen people were saved by streams gushing from the rock smitten by the magic rod of the great prophet, they believe this the natural discovery of a sagacious and, perhaps, spectacular leadership. When they are told that the hungry Elijah was miraculously fed by ravens, or that Elisha, cursing the children who derided his bald head, miraculously brought about their destruction by savage bears, they sometimes attempt to explain such stories by errors in text or translation. When they are told that Samson's strength lay in his long locks, and that unaided he killed one thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass, or that the witch of Endor brought up for Saul from the nether world the



shade of the stern Samuel, or that the sun and moon stood still to enable the victorious Joshua to complete his work of slaughter, they are sure that these are but extracts from the ancient poetry of what may be termed the Homeric age of Jewish history.

Of course all the stories cannot be thus disposed of. When Balaam, a Midianite priest of the desert, who worshiped or at least respected Jehovah, was called upon by the Moabitish king to travel to him and curse the invading hordes of Israel, we must either believe, as we are told, that his talking ass warned him of the angel who stood with drawn sword in the way and forced him from the path, or that this is an oriental method of describing Balaam's superstitious interpretation of the unwonted balking of his beast. But in no way can we explain naturally the tragic death of Korah and his associates who, on rebelling against Moses, were swallowed up by the opening and closing earth, with all their followers and innocent wives and children; unless perhaps by the fortuitous occurrence of an earthquake at the precise moment of Moses' peril, which spared all but the enemy.

Innumerable other miracles will not yield to any treatment but entire acceptance or rejection. Indeed, many rigid Fundamentalists treat them all alike and swallow Balaam's ass, the resurrection of the long buried Lazarus, creation in six days, Babel, Noah's ark, and all the countless rest, as completely as they believe the fish swallowed Jonah. Among those very difficult or impossible to explain away are the great numbers of magic tricks performed by Elisha and Jesus and his apostles for the sole purpose of convincing the multitude. Even some which it is quite common to attempt to explain in a natural way are somewhat stubborn. The waters of the Nile may, indeed, sometimes show discoloration, but nothing indicates that they were ever normally converted into real blood.

And the other pests brought on Egypt in quick succession, however natural some of them may sporadically have been, include the supernatural death of the first-born in each Egyptian family, while the immunity of the chosen people from this and other of the recorded pests could hardly be due to other than supernormal interposition. There is certainly no way of treating the story of God's awful delivery in person of his ten commandments amid the thunder and lightning of Sinai, while He himself hovered over it in impenetrable clouds, other than to accept it as it stands, to take refuge in mutilated texts and faulty translations, or boldly to disregard the entire miracle and concede that there is nothing in these very ordinary moral precepts requiring such marvelous authorship. The last seems indeed the only solution, unless one is prepared to assert, without evidence, deception of a desert horde by a clever leader.

A strange thing about these startling miracles is that, while there is hardly an ancient religion which does not base itself upon them, believers of each religion, while affirming the miracles of their own, generally deny those of the others. The Fundamentalist who believes that Elijah was transported to heaven in a chariot of fire will indignantly deny that Mohammed drew the moon from the heavens.

Those of a pedantic or quibbling disposition have sometimes been inclined to deny the appositeness to the argument of such words as miraculous or supernatural. They assert that nothing which occurs is really supernatural since the fact of occurrence brings it within Nature. This, of course, is true. If the occurrence be attested by sufficient evidence, it must be accepted, however foreign to previous experience, and be fitted, as best may be, into the generalizations of science.

If Jesus had conversed over a wire between Jerusalem

and Nazareth, or, more incredible still, without a wire, he would have been said by his contemporaries to have performed a stupendous miracle; and yet what he would have done is one of the commonplaces of to-day. If knowledge had to-day not advanced thus far, the argument runs, should we have the right to reject the so-called feat, merely because, owing to our ignorance, it seems a miracle? Similarly men have only recently discovered that all matter is in its inner essence the same, presenting apparent differences by reason of quantitative and positional variances. Thus, they are already predicting that the time will come when we shall be able to convert any substance, though hitherto supposedly elemental, into any other. Why, therefore, again the argument runs, condemn as an impossible miracle the conversion of water into wine or the enlargement of two loaves into a thousand loaves? All that is needed for either feat is a knowledge great enough to enable us to draw the necessary materials from the surrounding ether and to compound them properly.

Those who make an argument of this kind themselves demonstrate its insincerity, since they advance it for the very purpose of proving that the so-called miracle is really natural, occurring under the usual law of cause and effect. The telephone and the wireless, as also the transmutation of elements, if we ever attain it, depend on perfectly comprehensible chains of physical agents, knowledge of which has been or will be acquired only step by step as the result of precedent research. To accomplish any such thing by a mere act of willing, without known physical agencies, appears to the science of this day an absurdly impossible thing. To say, therefore, that an uneducated man, two thousand years ago, conversed without a wire between Nazareth and Jerusalem, or, by willing, converted water to wine or one loaf to a hundred or a dead man to a living, is either to assert that this ignorant

man was a scientist hundreds of years beyond even the present age, who wilfully concealed the principles of his marvelous scientific discoveries, or to assert that he was utilizing superhuman powers.

In a sense, if such powers, thus exercised, be a part of the cosmos, they may be said to be natural, but certainly it is an unfair stretch of language to designate them or their product as anything other than supernatural or miraculous, given the age and manner of their display. And if they constitute an exceptional breach by Omnipotence of its own laws, they cannot be said to be natural. At all events, when we are told that two thousand years ago, by acts of willing and not by the interposition of any declared physical cause, corpses already decaying in the grave were restored to life, devils were cast out of men and into swine, men walked on the surface of the sea, and, in the body, were translated into heaven, we are manifestly not being told of secret and now lost natural arts, but, as the inspired narrative in fact plainly leads us to understand, of the employment of divine power in opposition to natural laws established to our satisfaction by countless experiments and experiences. If pedantry insists that such events become natural by the mere fact of occurrence, it must at least admit they are so supremely supernormal as to entitle men to call them miracles and to demand for them that enormous degree of evidence required not only by their exceptional nature but by their silliness. Some of these things, indeed, such as possession by devils, contradict known facts and represent the clear superstitions of ignorance.

In short, such a quibble is hardly worthy of serious discussion. Men must be sophistic indeed, who can deny that, if they really believe that the walls of Jericho fell on the blowing of the trumpet, or that men conversed with angels, or that the bread and wine of the Eucharist be-



come Jesus' flesh and blood, they are believing in miracles. The only real test and issue, in the matter of the acceptance or rejection of an asserted miracle, are the amount and character of the evidence by which it is supported.

The evidence required must, of course, be commensurate with the unusualness of the event. And if the latter should violate such laws of Nature as the best intellects have reason to believe indubitably established, the amount and kind of evidence reasonably to be demanded must be overwhelmingly convincing. What would be the proof that even an ignorant man would require if a neighbor were to report that he had met in the streets in broad daylight a winged angel with ethereal and incandescent body, who had transformed by a wave of his hand a house into a flying machine? The natural conclusion of the hearer would be that his neighbor was a humorist, a deceiver or a madman. If the story were confirmed by other eye-witnesses, to what degree would even the supposed ignorant hearer insist upon their cross-examination, and investigation of their antecedents and of the nature of the transformed house? But such an ignorant hearer, while even he would probably reject a report of this character in the absence of overwhelming evidence, might be much quicker to accept the story of a ghostly apparition in a cemetery in the depths of night. Here would be concerned fears and superstitions which feed on darkness and perish in sunshine. Certainly less informed minds would be more apt to accept either story than those of experience and culture, accustomed to weigh evidence. And how ought the amount and kind of proof required be affected if the story were told, not as the actual experience of a contemporary, but as an event many centuries old, perpetuated by oral tradition for part of those centuries before it was reduced to writing? And would its probability be increased or diminished if it were found to be of the same



general character as the stories contained in all the pagan mythologies, rejected alike by all men, orthodox and unorthodox, informed and ignorant? And how would the evidence in its favor, even if considerable, be affected if the story appeared meaningless and silly?

It certainly is true that no miraculous event has ever been recorded, the evidence of which will, even in small measure, satisfy those reasonable tests that are applied in all but sacred fields. And assuredly most, if not all, of the Biblical miracles carry their own refutation in their utter inadequacy to satisfy any legitimate inquiry or aspiration of a twentieth century intellect. One may omit from consideration the more patently absurd ones and inquire in vain for any revelation of the slightest interest to an informed mind of the present day in any of the stories, even those most indispensable to the creeds, such as those of the physical resurrection of the dead, or the Ascension. The Book of Revelation is certainly regarded by Christians, orthodox and unorthodox, as an essential part of the inspired canon. Is it possible, however, for any educated person who can read it without bias and as though for the first time, to do so and extract from it any worth-while thing? If the same book were written to-day, what competent intellect, even among the orthodox, would consider it worthy of the slightest attention? One might naturally expect in a divinely inspired narrative to receive comforting intimations, if not complete understanding, of those deep things which defy intellectual penetration. One will seek them in vain in any of these ancient fables. They are as lacking in conviction to twentieth century intelligence as the stupid gesture of some of our modern materialists, who pretend to imagine that they have proved something in relation to the existence or non-existence of God by flamboyantly challenging him to interrupt the calm and inscrutable course of his divine

and infinite activities in order to cast a thunderbolt of destruction at their insignificance.

The story of the Bible upon which are builded all the Christian creeds is that of creation and Adam and Eve. It represents a rather beautiful and intelligent effort, considering the age in which it was written, but argument is no longer required to demonstrate its utter absurdity in the light of modern science. So far as concerns any account of creation, all that can be said is that, since it manifestly cannot be that of an eye-witness, it can have no validity except in so far as it rests upon the reasoned inductions of scientific men. The naive story of Adam and Eve voices the solution by the ancient writer of the tragic riddle of evil. That solution is that men were originally happy, perfect and immortal, degenerating and meeting death through sin. The logic of the creeds, so far as we are entitled to speak of logic in connection with a divinely revealed religious system, depends upon the accuracy of this solution. But intelligent men, even in the churches, do not, in their secular thought at least, accept it. Science has certainly established irrefutably that men, far from starting, some sixty centuries ago, in perfection and then retrograding, began their career some thousands of centuries ago in savagery, from which they have only slowly and painfully developed, as, in the constant struggle for existence, they have more and more succeeded in adapting themselves to the hostile environment. Evil is now clearly seen to be but the reflection and measure of men's inability to cope with surrounding adversities. The original sin of the ascetic religionist is now seen to represent merely the errors of men groping for an enlightenment which they are attaining only slowly and gradually. Satan is no longer regarded, even among the more intelligent orthodox, as an independent spirit, but as a fanciful personification by fearful men of powerful and hostile natural

forces. Salvation is no longer seen, by science at least, as the gift of a pitying God, but as the hard-earned reward of the courageous effort of thinking men.

These views, however well established in the schools, cannot logically be accepted by Christians if they are to retain Christianity. Modernism may, in desperation, attempt to throw overboard the more absurd of the stories regarded as immaterial, but with futility, seeing, not only that they are vouched for by the same inspired books which it trusts completely as to those features considered vital, but that they are in large part inextricably bound up with those features. The same inspired narrative that tells us of the fall, the incarnation, the atonement and the resurrection, tells us also of the virgin birth, the transfiguration, the ascension, the possession of men by devils and the petty magic tricks of legerdemain. How then can men desiring consistency and mental peace claim the right to be members of a Christian church and even to occupy its pulpits, who secretly or avowedly reject some of these marvels and hold steadfast to the others? Eliding all the wonder-workings regarded by them as immaterial, there remain fundamentals of Christian belief which are really more stupendously miraculous and more immensely contrary to the truth as seen by modern eyes than those portions of the holy book which they reject.

Christianity must certainly insist upon the fall; for, if men had not become fatally lost through sin, there would be no necessity to find for them salvation from the tortures of hell only through the exercise of divine pity. No less essential to the Christian creed, therefore, is the doctrine that men, having thus irremediably saturated themselves with sin, could be saved only by the consent of God to incarnate himself in the form of man and to offer himself, in spite of his Divinity, passing through all the agonies of a tragic human life and death, as a vicarious

blood sacrifice and atonement for human sins. This curious doctrine is none the less essential because countless millions have passed and will pass through the same sad history and the same dark portals; while many of them have even experienced the same premature martyrdom as the Son of God for causes in which they believed, unsupported by his comforting certainty of Divine Omnipotence and eternal existence. Also essential to Christianity is the belief that only the elect few find their salvation in this act of God-like unselfishness, whether by faith or works or predestinate grace, while the remainder of men, not so fortunate, must find their end in everlasting torment. Equally essential, unless Christians are to begin the mutilation of their inspired book by adopting the scholarly view of later interpolation, is the mystic dogma of the Trinity.

Vital to Christianity is also the belief in the resurrection and the final judgment day with the attendant dogma of Satan's lake of brimstone fire. For, squirm as our Modernist, and even some of our Fundamentalist, friends may, before that doctrine of eternal punishment, refine it as they will, it is impossible for any one to do away with it, who accepts the New Testament as in any way the inspired revelation of God. We reserve for future mention some of the other dogmas, such as the Eucharistic conversion of bread and wine to the actual flesh and blood of Christ, the damnation of unbaptized infants and the predestination of the elect, which if not the general belief of all the churches, are regarded by some as no less essential.

While many, even in the churches, have adopted some, if not the greater part, of the foregoing views of miracles and dogmas, perhaps no churchman has yet brought himself to remove many a difficulty from his troubled mind by rejecting the Christian ethics. That system, all Chris-



tians agree, is of divine origin. Yet it not only needs no such miraculous explanation, but, it seems fairly apparent, is not even a sound system. It is strange that although Christians, and even churchmen, have had occasion repeatedly and painfully to attempt to explain and even apologize for certain of the Scriptural laws of conduct, they have failed to realize, or to have the courage to declare, that the weakness of their defense lies in its impossibility.

We do not allude here to debatable questions such as arise from the commandments as to divorce or the rights of women; nor to those generally sound principles of morality in which the Old and New Testaments agree. Those principles, while perhaps more advanced, differ in no radical way from those developed among the pagan nations. And it may even be doubted, when we read some of the noble utterances of the Greek and Roman philosophers, whether, at least from the standpoint of content and not of emphasis, the Hebrew code may be said to be more advanced. The Christian ethics as a whole does not materially differ from that of its Jewish source, except, as we have already noted, as it puts a greater emphasis upon love than upon justice and accentuates the ideal of a human brotherhood under the fatherhood of God. But those who have studied the rabbinical literature of the time of Christ find that even here he was giving utterance to many of the current teachings of the synagogue. The great difference, however, between the Christian and all other ethical codes, including the Jewish, lies in those famous and matchlessly phrased passages which we have already quoted and which teach non-resistance to injustice, and hostility to the acquisition of wealth, even to the point of improvidence.

Whatever one may think of the utility of these doctrines in a Utopian realm, where, however, there could be



no occasion for their exercise, they have never been generally practiced in this world by any nation, Christian or otherwise. It needs no extended argument to demonstrate that, if the contrary were true, civilization could never have developed; at least so long as there were any vicious left to whom the virtuous might still yield, and so long as God failed miraculously to supply the wants of those who failed to build bulwarks against the elements and the chances of the future.

The most logical defense of these doctrines is that voiced in Dostoevsky's novel "The Idiot." The hero is designated by that unflattering name by the remaining characters, although in their hearts they believe him to be the wisest and noblest of them all. They call him the idiot merely because his ambitions are not those of other men. Neither wealth nor power offers him any temptation, and when he is literally smitten on the cheek he turns a smiling countenance upon his assailant in an attitude so palpably fearless, so truly noble and sincere, that every onlooker understands, while the unjust assailant is shamed into apology. The success of such conduct assumes an assailant sufficiently intelligent and well-disposed to respond to it. There are other incidents of the same kind in the book, but, for that reason, not always with the same result. Probably all moralists agree that sublime conduct tends to inspire imitation; that patience is a great virtue; but likewise that patience such as this can meet only with harm-producing defeat at the hands of the multitudes of evil-doers by whom in actual life it is quite generally surrounded. This was demonstrated in the case of Dostoevsky's hero, who, in the end, was so bruised by the wickedness of men that his ultimate refuge was the madhouse.

The explanation of these impractical doctrines which best harmonizes with the persistent polity of all peoples

including Christians, is that Jesus was not preaching them for a continuing and developing world, but for one which he believed was about to be destroyed and replaced by the kingdom of God. Naturally, if that kingdom was about to be established on earth, men needed no longer to resist oppression, amass wealth, or build up civilization. The divine King was henceforth to take care of their everlasting happiness. But the Master, if divine, must have known that that time had not yet come, and thus, for Christians, this explanation falls. If it be conceded that these doctrines are congenial to such a Utopian world as the heavenly kingdom, they become no longer necessary; for where there are no oppressors there need be no resistance, and where God restores, by reason of the sacrifice of the Redeemer, the primitive happiness of men, such as it existed before sin, without toil, torment or death, the amassing of wealth and the building up of protective civilization become needless.

These teachings have been defended by some on the ground that they do not represent rules of actual conduct, but ideals for future realization. They are not given to us in the Scripture, however, as ideals, but quite clearly as rules of action. Moreover, if they were intended merely as ideals which should only find future realization in Utopia, the answer has already been given, that there no such rules are necessary.

Since Jesus did not return in his own generation to establish his kingdom, and has not done so in the nineteen centuries since, Christians, if they are not to reject the divine authorship of these doctrines, must believe them intended for permanent rules of conduct in a continuing and not a dying world. If that belief be true, they represent an extreme form of the prophetic philosophy built up in Israel from the time of Elijah. They must stand or fall, in that event, with the views of those dream-

ers and poets in every age who profess to despise wealth and civilization and to believe in the virtue of Arcadian innocence, and who, far from contact with the hard and practical struggles of those who construct civilization, so often forget that they themselves could not exist without the protection and nourishment of that civilization. Visionaries of this type, looking upon these struggles and the excesses that must of necessity accompany them, the pride, tyranny and greed of the powerful, the effeminacy of the luxurious, the bloody contests of ambitious rulers, too often, and sometimes because they trust more to the heart than the head, fail to find the golden mean, fail properly to temper altruism with justice, and thus fall victims to a love of a simple virtue which, without adequate scientific knowledge, they believe must have been the beginning of things. Leading economically idle, if simple, lives themselves and feeding upon the contributions of the workers, like many of the prophets, they too often forget the ultimate source from which they derive their subsistence, while only too ready to find evil in those activities without which that subsistence would be impossible.

In every age, when the evils attendant upon the growth of civilization have proved excessive and more than the downtrodden poor could bear, such dreamers have appeared with impractical schemes, which, in the promise of a splendid happiness to ensue upon the simple life of Nature, have ignored the fact of evil cosmic forces, while foolishly putting all the blame upon human greed. So some of the prophets visioned the perfections of the pastoral life and directed the fierce fires of their invective against the comfort and luxury of civilization.

This perhaps bore its fruition in the Christian hostility to wealth. At all events, we are told that the members of the early church, under the inspired guidance of the

apostles, and evidently following this doctrine, put their goods in a common fund and shared all things according to need. Therefore, since the divine founder knew that the world was still to continue for at least some nineteen centuries, there is no escape from the conclusion that Christianity ought to believe in the divinely revealed validity of the communistic principle. For, in the most unambiguous language, the Messiah declared it impossible for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven; and he commanded his followers not to store up goods where rust could corrupt and not to take thought for food or raiment or generally for the morrow, but to have faith that their heavenly Father would supply all these things. He commanded further that if one wrongly demanded their coat they were to give up also their cloak.

The complete failure to put this remarkable system of ethics into practice will certainly not be charged by Christians against its merits. They can only attribute that fact to the weakness and the sins of men. But if this be true it is fair to inquire whether and when the church has ever, even in the most halcyon days of its power, insisted upon compliance with these clear commands. If, on the other hand, this failure is due to a lack of merit in the system, and civilization is a good, depending upon the amassing of capital, the building of great public and private works, the exercise of that self-denial which renders it possible and the repression of that hostile license which threatens its foundations, why have not those who are the moral leaders of men had the courage to appeal to reason as against revelation, and to denounce such ethical doctrines as those of unthinking visionaries?

There is undeniably a certain beauty in them, but, when we have extracted it, we must be careful not confusedly to regard it as justification for the unambiguous larger meanings. If one understands the stern attack



upon wealth to voice a warning against the loss of the fine things of the spirit in the greedy hunt for mammon, one can at once admit its necessity without justifying the strong words with which the Christian is admonished to improvidence. Nor, in that aspect, was it necessary that the rich young man anxious to follow Jesus should be told that it was essential to sell all his goods and divide the proceeds among the poor. Likewise, if the doctrine of non-resistance is merely intended, in proper cases, as a summons to courageous fortitude and noble example, it was not necessary to couch it in such strong and uncompromising terms of cowardly submission to oppression.

In fact, a rationalistic code of ethics, built up in conformity with the laws of advancing civilization, has never needed any special revelation to teach the supreme virtue of moderation. Such a code has always taught that wealth is not a good in itself, but chiefly in the shelter against destructive, natural forces which it provides, together with the thus possible cultivation of the worth-while things of life, the graces and arts, the poetry and music, the science and philosophy, by those nourished and sustained in these noble activities by the labors of the more material builders. Such a code, while ardently looking forward to the time when gentleness may leaven the asperities of men, has always elevated to sublimity the self-sacrificing heroism of those who have led the people in defense against tyranny.

It seems a valid conclusion from the foregoing considerations that, if men had only the courage to admit it, the Bible, viewed not as an ancient literature, but as a text-book of religion, is a gross and unsatisfactory anachronism. Religion connotes human belief as to the force or forces, if any, underlying the apparent universe, and as to men's relation to them. Religion, in its highest



aspect, is philosophy; a generalization of human knowledge, including the grounds of a reasonable faith; and to say, in these days, that the Bible affords us a true picture of such knowledge, even in so far as the latter has been able to fix the boundary between the natural and the supernatural, is to utter a palpable absurdity.

To admire the Bible's beauty and insight in the light of the times in which it was written, and the richness of its archaeological materials, is one thing; to regard it as a religious or philosophical authority, and that, too, of a divine and hence final character, is quite another. Used as such an authority, its influence is indescribably baneful. Through the wide-spread power of the church and religious schools and many related agencies, the Occidental masses still regard it as the supernaturally inspired book of God. Every word of it they accept as truth, every proposition that their intelligence is able to construe as denial of even its least significant statement, they regard as sacrilege. The direst harm has frequently resulted through the firing of the religious passions of the people when their leaders sufficiently dislike some new light about to flood the world and thus to dispel forever the darkness of some ancient Biblical ignorance.

A harm even greater, because more continuous, though not so palpably tragic, results from the fact that even the most intelligent, grounded in their youth in a Biblical education, find it difficult, as they advance in their studies, to obtain a true perspective of the world, handicapped as they are by long assimilated falsities which yield only gradually to the light of science. Intellectual habits, and particularly those formed in youth, are difficult to overcome. Untrue pictures, once a part of the mental equipment, are difficult to dissipate. It is sad and incredible but none the less true that such pictures are frequently presented in the religious schools by teachers who excuse

their cowardice on the plea that fables are suited to the young, even though imparted not as such, but as sacred truth. Most of the unfortunate pupils never reach the mental stature necessary entirely to redraw their mental universe, and thus, even when they make progress in correct knowledge, find it disturbingly impossible to construct a congruous philosophy. Moreover, it is certainly an evil, not necessary to discuss at length, that in the same mentalities should exist two systems of opposing and contradictory values; that men, even in the churches, should assume the right to esoteric knowledge and preach in one relationship what in another they deny.

We are sometimes told, however, that belief in the simple and easily understood story of the Bible and particularly in its message of the heavenly rewards of mundane virtue and the hellish punishment of mundane vice, is necessary for the control of the lower classes. Such an argument overlooks the companion doctrines of election and predestination, that might well lead to despair, if ostensible belief were not generally nullified by natural optimism. But, such a minor consideration apart, we hope it is not over-sanguine to believe that the time is ripe, or will become so during the long and weary years that the process must necessarily require, for undertaking, without damage and perhaps with great profit, the work of general enlightenment.

Men must somehow be brought to realize that salvation lies only in the courageous exercise of reason and the acquisition of knowledge. Even, however, if it be true that the percentage of undeveloped adult intellects is still too great to render feasible such a desideratum to its fullest extent, it is also true that it has never been found that the masses will not be governed by the unanimous or nearly unanimous ideas of leaders, even when not completely understood. Moreover, history shows that men

never have been really controlled by their fears and hopes of eternal retribution. It seems pitiful to say, but it is none the less true, that the beastly appetites of the great masses of men have always taken on a benignant aspect when their owners were well housed, clothed and fed, while they have never failed, in spite of religious precept and denunciation, to break forth in cruel upheaval in times of starvation and misery. Finally, there is something in the nature of men, to which those truly religious surely will subscribe, which demands truth whatever the cost. Evolving Nature seems, by this time, to have adequately developed a sufficient number of mentalities that hunger for that priceless possession, as truly as they or their ancestors ever hungered for material food.

If enough of the educated, then, now agree that the Bible is not only inadequate, but positively false as a religious text-book, is there not a need for a new Bible? For the man of broad culture, there is, of course, no such need, for his philosophy is the product of many books and of profound thought. But for the vast majority a book would assuredly be a precious boon, that in simple language and in compact form would present a satisfying and properly proportioned picture, so far as now known, of the mystifying world in which we live.

From the time of the early Greeks the development of a unifying philosophy and the proof of its ultimate possibility have constituted man's greatest achievement. The story, so far as now developed, should be told. Men should have some means whereby, from their youth, they can view a true picture, correct in perspective, of the world, its origin and its history, including the development of science, philosophy and art. Such a picture seems necessary at the outset as a framework within which appropriately to place, as developed, the different fields wherein cultural curiosity may revel. Surely just in proportion as

men, not entirely material, have felt the inadequacy of the Bible, they must also have realized the need of a substitute. Intellectually and emotionally, they must have felt the need of a modern Bible, also inspired, but by human genius, which shall give to the whole of things that harmony and unifying beauty, without which, if it do not exist, nothing really matters.

Such a book cannot be made to order. Some day it will come. It will be the product of a great and feeling scholarship. It will be a resumé of the elements of all existing knowledge and a prudent forecast of that to come. It will know how to unite with consummate artistry into a harmonious whole, and in simple and fascinating language, not only the inspiring history and science of the cosmos and of men and of their thought, but that of their poetry, music, art and legitimate religious sentiments. It will trace history from the earliest period that can be filled in by the scientific imagination. It will describe the evolution of worlds and life, and the development of human institutions, with an insight that will disregard the immaterial and the uninteresting and fascinate by an assured touch of the high places. It will include a history of science and of thought in such a way as to instruct and charm the minds of all who are capable of interest and curiosity in their mysterious surroundings. Above all, it will expose with the finest insight of the thinker and the artist the foundations of ethics, and thus show men the true grounds upon which rest their moral obligations. And in doing all this, it will never lose sight of the infinite and the absolute, strangely demonstrable by, if inscrutable to intellect, nor deprive mankind of the hope justified by this mysterious limitation of incarnate mind and its incongruity with the eternal ocean in which our temporal and insular existence has its being.

As a method of testing the justification of these con-



ceptions it is now proposed in the pages to follow to indicate a small part of the ground which such a monumental work must cover. That indication will be highly inadequate. The subject matter will be woefully deficient. The number and extent of the topics will be limited by a too scanty scholarship. The general treatment will hopelessly fall short of the magnificence of the theme. But it is hoped that there will at least be presented such a modern and true outlook as will in itself constitute a demonstration of the ancient inadequacies. It is hoped that even the radical deficiencies of the effort, by their suggestion of the riches needed for a satisfying one, will assist in establishing the deep need of a revision of the cosmology entertained by the great majority.

The viewpoint adopted in this chapter is far from irreligious. It is irreligious only if religion is bounded by the creeds. It expresses the highest religion, if religion means faith in a transcendent Reality, a mental attitude which cannot remain content with the intellectual limitations imposed by an inexorable logic. Whether the inscrutable Power which science proves to underlie all things is to be regarded as spiritual or material, that is to say, as something which, if transcendent, is still of the nature of our own consciousness and will, or as mere blind force, is something beyond the solution of reason. But it is surely the highest religious attitude, not to profess familiarity with the inscrutable on the basis of early fables, but to bow before its undeniable reality in a reverence which is the deeper because devoted to something so infinitely removed from comprehension.

The agnostic philosopher, Herbert Spencer, who, in spite of the criticisms of many who have failed to understand him, is emerging more and more as the great teacher of our modern era, expresses this thought so perfectly



that we can do no better than to conclude this chapter with his words.

In one of his works he says:

Religion has ever been more or less irreligious. \* \* \* It has all along professed to have some knowledge of that which transcends knowledge; and has so contradicted its own teachings. While with one breath it has asserted that the Cause of all things passes understanding, it has, with the next breath, asserted that the Cause of all things possesses such or such attributes—can be in so far understood. \* \* \* Religion, though at the outset it asserted a mystery, also made numerous definite assertions respecting this mystery. \* \* \* Volumes might be written upon the impiety of the pious. Through the printed and spoken thoughts of religious teachers, may almost everywhere be traced a professed familiarity with the ultimate mystery of things, which, to say the least of it, seems anything but congruous with the accompanying expressions of humility. \* \* \* And yet this transcendent audacity, which claims to penetrate the secrets of the Power manifested to us through all existence—nay even to stand behind that Power and note the conditions to its action—this it is which passed current as piety! May we not without hesitation affirm that a sincere recognition of the truth that our own and all other existence is a mystery absolutely and forever beyond our comprehension, contains more of true religion than all the dogmatic theology ever written?

And in another place he says:

But one truth must grow ever clearer—the truth that there is an Inscrutable Existence everywhere manifested, to which he [the man of science] can neither find nor conceive either beginning or end. Amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty, that he is ever in presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE EVOLUTION OF THE WORLD

**B**Y all ancient peoples the universe was assumed to be as it appeared. The earth was regarded as a vast flat surface variegated, of course, by hills, valleys and waters, while the blue firmament curving on all sides to the horizon was believed to be the material ceiling of our world and the floor of heaven. When primitive men first awakened to a sense of self-consciousness and to wonderment at their surroundings, they seem everywhere to have developed a belief that the various gods, whose wrath they first endeavored to placate and whose love they later endeavored to earn, had their homes either above the firmament or beneath the earth. They did not tax their mentality in speculations as to the extent to which the earth might reach in a downward direction, or the manner in which it might be supported; but quite generally they assigned to the nether world, whether in the bowels of the earth or entirely beneath it does not always clearly appear, the place of the abode of the dead. In the firmament they were quite confident that the sun, the moon and the stars, which were considered, relative to the earth, insignificant in size, had been placed as sources of light and heat and as seasonal signs for men.

When, in their hard lives, they or at least their ruling, priestly classes had succeeded in attaining sufficient leisure to study more in detail the movements of the heavenly bodies, they discovered that, while the numerous stars seem to travel in fixed positions relative to each other, at

uniform and majestic pace each day from east to west, and in some way back to the east again, certain of them (the planets) and also the sun and moon exhibited other movements relative to each other and to the remaining or so-called fixed stars. This disturbed, of course, their notion of one firmament, and in its place they had to erect for each movement a firmament of its own, with its fixtures of stars, planet, sun or moon. As such a firmament, if opaque, would prevent the observation of the others further removed, the interior ones were supposed to be of crystalline transparency.

In spite of these crude notions, it is to be presumed that the more intelligent of the child-like early men, like bright children to-day, must have speculated concerning the expanse that lay beyond the floor of the visible heaven. They must have transported themselves in imagination above this floor and sought the ceiling of the glorious abode of the gods and angels. And when they had beheld in their mind's eye that ceiling, they must again have wondered as to the space that still stretched beyond. Then they must have imagined themselves beyond the second ceiling and on the floor of the second heaven, and again made the same speculations, and so on from heaven to heaven. Thus they must finally have realized that, by the nature of thought and human experience, they never could picture any boundary beyond which they would not be compelled to posit further space and further possible motion in time; so that, even in those days and to those primitive minds, the infinity of space and of time must have become apparent.

It seems to us a long time ago, but it is really not so, in comparison with the vast preparatory ages, when the later, civilized ancients and especially the Greeks realized that the azure appearance of a material firmament is but an optical illusion and that the earth is really surrounded

on all sides by an unbounded void tenanted by the heavenly bodies, apparently numerous, but scant indeed in comparison with the vast spaces of the infinity in which they float. From that time, with long periods of interruption, our knowledge has steadily grown until, only a few centuries ago, the complex heavenly motions were explained and infinite space became, if such an expression be permissible, vaster than before. For men suddenly attained the startling and enlightening truth that our little earth is like a grain of cosmic dust and far from constituting the important centre about which the other celestial bodies revolve.

We know now that the stars are not fixed. We know that, while they appear, and have appeared to ordinary vision, during the period in which men have studied them, to hold the same positions relative to each other, this appearance is due only to the fact that they are such unimaginable distances from us and from each other, that, though moving in all directions at velocities of the order of hundreds of miles a minute, no variation of relative position could be ordinarily observable in centuries. Light travels 186,000 miles in a second, and yet these stars are so distant that it takes their light, in some cases, hundreds of thousands of years to reach us, and, from the nearest, several years. To attempt to define such vast distances in miles would be so meaningless that astronomers have been compelled to use as a unit the light year, which is the distance traveled by light in one year. Thus, a star, a thousand light years distant, since we view it now by light that left it that number of years ago, may possibly, for all we can know to the contrary, have ceased to exist for many centuries.

The sun is one of the so-called fixed stars. It appears to us so much larger than the others because it is so much nearer. Its distance is only about 93,000,000 miles.

Around it the earth and the seven other major planets revolve in elliptical, nearly circular orbits, the most distant, Neptune, being about 3,000,000,000 miles or a little over four light hours from the sun. The distance of the nearest star is over five thousand times as great as that of the most distant planet. Around several of the planets revolve, also in elliptic orbits, one or more attendant satellites or moons. Our moon revolves about the earth at a distance of 240,000 miles.

Many astronomers believe our sun to be a member of the great disc-shaped galaxy of stars whose periphery is defined in the heavens in the so-called Milky Way, and this galaxy to constitute a single aggregation or universe. Whether this be true or not, outside its apparent boundaries the modern telescope descries other galaxies or universes and many apparently isolated stars; also great nebular bodies of glowing gas, which are the material of other universes in the making. The Milky Way galaxy is so vast that the distance from end to end of it is supposed to be some 200,000 light years, and recent, perhaps somewhat speculative calculations of the distances from us of other star aggregations and nebulae go as high as a million light years. While to the naked eye there appear to be several thousands of stars, the great modern telescopes and cameras have disclosed uncounted millions. In sum, our earth is an insignificant planet of an insignificant sun, carried along with it, as, like millions of other suns, some of them much larger, ours travels majestically through the limitless vacancy, which engulfs them all.

The matter thus sparsely distributed in the void is eternal. Ceaselessly it changes in form, but its basic substance or energy is indestructible. Each great solar system, after passing through its natural development in countless trillions of years, must, by its inherent forces or through external catastrophe, be again converted from



the developed matter which we know to the unimaginably tenuous nebular stuff from which it sprang, only repeatedly to go through the same course of birth and death during infinite time. The heavens are rich in evidences of universes in different stages of this continuous evolution and dissolution. From time to time, the astronomer has the awe-inspiring opportunity of witnessing both processes; the beginning of a universe, perhaps, when a new star suddenly bursts into view, an ending, when, as the result of titanic catastrophic forces, some giant globe or system is suddenly expanded into an immeasurably vaster nebula, destined again to condense and start the process anew.

The suns, even those of our own galaxy, are so far distant from each other that they probably are not held within orbital courses through gravitational influence. They are supposed to be in some such to and fro motion as that of the widely separated molecules of active gases, like swarms of flying bees. Such is the vastness of the room they have for these motions that there is little danger of collision, for the most part, in millions of years. Some inadequate idea of this vastness may be obtained from the fact that our own sun, though supposed to be traveling at a velocity approaching 1,000 miles a minute toward another star, cannot reach the present location of that star in half a million years, while, when it does, the latter will have traveled enormous distances away.

While a precise description of the evolution of a system is, of course, impossible, science is able to give a satisfying approximation. The development of our own solar system certainly began trillions of years ago and very probably from a vast nebula extending thousands of billions of miles in all directions. Would that knowledge had reached such a stage that it could be stated with certainty that the nebular material itself was originally

a development from the ether, the electric substance supposed to fill all the space of the visible universe, the medium which carries to us the light of the distant suns. Science is even now on the verge of some such great discovery; and one's regret at being unable at this stage to tell the wondrous story of this earliest development is tempered by the joyous hope of the tremendous, hidden forces yet to be exposed by the aspiring genius of men.

We must, perforce, begin with the vast body of nebular gas. It is subject to the force of gravity. Each particle attracts every other, so that the beginning of world-making is the consequent gradual condensation. As the body thus contracts, through the even operation of the gravitational force, into spherical form, the irregularities of the initial nebular distribution, in the course of ages, compel the rotation, about a central axis, of the vast globe, now incandescent from the heat engendered by the relatively tiny motions of its ultimate particles and also due largely to the contractile forces.

The original diameter of this great, luminous, gaseous star must have reached beyond the present orbit of Neptune, our most distant planet, and, as it spun on its axis, the centrifugal motion and possibly other forces must have hurled from the equator a vast, whirling ring which, as the central mass contracted more and more, must have finally condensed itself, again through gravitation, into that planet. Some astronomers have recently been prone to discard this rather well supported theory of ring development through centrifugal motion, in favor of other theories whereby, under the operation of other forces, the various planets and their satellites have been literally torn from the parent body. Other astronomers prefer to emphasize, in the early stages, a spiral rather than a spherical development. The precise method is, of course,

beyond our reach. But all scientists agree as to the major fact, the birth of each planet and satellite from its parent orb.

Thus, after the birth of Neptune the sun continued to contract, throwing off successively each of its planets. Each planet in its turn, following the same general course, threw off, in the form of rings or otherwise, the matter which later and in immeasurable ages became its satellites or moons. In due time our own earth and its moon would be thus born, the earth with a present diameter of approximately 8,000 miles and the moon, of approximately 2,000 miles. The sun, continuing to contract, then threw off the interior planets of the system, Venus and Mercury. Its present diameter is nearly 900,000 miles and its volume about 1,300,000 times that of the little earth. But the great monarch of the system will continue to contract and probably continue to grow cooler and cooler as it radiates into space the heat caused by its contraction until, finally, like our own dead moon, it will have become quite cold. At some vastly remote period, either through collision with some other system, or, as some think, through the tremendous forces engendered at its centre by gravitational pressure and other causes, it and all its surrounding planets will be exploded into the same vast nebular body which was its beginning and in which the same process will start anew.

The oneness of the material universe is indicated by the fact that the atomic vibrations of each incandescent star and nebula are transmitted in the form of light or other electro-magnetic impulse, by means of the ether, throughout the vast reaches of the known cosmos, and also by the fact that all the suns are found to contain the same materials as those known on earth. The envelope of the sun consists of luminous gases composed of the same metals and other elementary substances as those

we know here. It is the same with the stars. The astronomer, with his optic glass, is able to watch the titanic forces of the solar storms hurling vast bodies of red hydrogen gas as high as two hundred thousand miles into the solar atmosphere.

The nebular earth perhaps developed as its first element, or perhaps inherited from its solar parent, a gas of some such simple form as hydrogen, the smallest unit of which, the atom, consists of a single proton or so-called positive electric charge and a single electron or negative charge. The electron revolves about the proton in similitude, in the infinitesimal microcosm, to the great solar system of which it forms so unimaginably small a part. The size of such an atom is inconceivably small. There are trillions in a drop of water. To our gross senses matter, though constituted of such atoms, seems continuous and more or less solid. Yet the space or ether uniting the electrons and protons bears a proportion to them measurably analogous to that borne by the space of the solar system to the sun and its planets.

In the course of development, probably more and more electrons were drawn into revolution about their respective protons, and thus more and more complex forms of elementary matter were developed from the simplest and stablest, such as hydrogen, to the most complex and unstable, such as uranium and radium. The atom of uranium contains some ninety-two electrons revolving around the central protonic combination, radium, eighty-eight, lead, eighty-two, gold, seventy-nine. Science in these days literally watches the process of electronic loss whereby uranium is transmutable into radium and radium into lead. Some day it will penetrate to the primal process whereby the recondite etheric energies develop electrons and protons and the varying quantitative, positional and motional relations between them that constitute the differ-

ent kinds of elemental matter. Chemistry already knows much, at least empirically, of those energies of affinity and repulsion whereby elemental atoms are united into the compound molecules of the numerous different kinds of matter.

These inherent energies, by the exercise of force, make themselves palpable to us as matter, and, in their incessant activity, develop more and more varied forms, which survive in proportion to their adaptation to the surrounding antagonisms. Myriads of material forms must have perished in the clash of contending existences. The underlying energy, however, is persistent. Matter is alive. The ether appears to be so. In fact, all Nature, even in its inorganic forms, seems to be animate, as truly, even if not as characteristically, as those organic beings to which solely the term is usually applied.

When the earth in its development reached the stage where the eye of science is first able clearly to visualize it, it must have contained in its still heated, but gradually cooling atmosphere great quantities of water or rather, steam, formed by the union of hydrogen and oxygen atoms, while on the molten mass below a scum must have begun to form, which, as the earth continued to cool, gradually became a crust of primitive rocks. For ages and ages this crust must have continued to harden and thicken, cracking from time to time as the seething forces of the interior struggled through in volcanic eruptions of stupendous violence and extent, but ever continuing the process.

As the atmosphere grew cooler, the steam condensed into perpetual rain, which, as it fell with persistent force upon the rocks of this uninviting world, ground their surface into sediment which the torrential waters carried down from the high places and through the valleys into



the lower levels of the twisted and heaped up rocks, thus gradually forming the vast oceans and their oozy beds. Not as we know them, indeed, for, as the studies of geologists assure us, this poor old world must have gone through ages and ages of surface changes due to earthquakes and volcanic action upon the then thin earth crust, so that oceans were in turn created and dissipated, the low places made high, and the high places low, while the climate was subjected to very great vicissitudes. Through the interaction of many and complex forces, the surface as we know it did not become fixed until the passage of untold aeons. The best modern scientific authorities place the period at which the earth crust began to form at some 1,500,000,000 years ago. Thereafter, painfully and slowly, in a most fascinating development, as it is unfolded to us by the geologists, and during hundreds of millions of years, the world developed into something like its present condition, though for much the larger part of those ages it lacked vegetation and of course any form of animal life.

Then, at least fifty million years ago, a stupendous thing happened. In the slimy bed of some ocean shallow, the first organic life appeared. From the interaction of many different kinds of matter, simple and complex, by this time developed, a complicated nitrogenous compound formed itself into microscopic, living, one-celled creatures. Life as usually conceived may be said to be that energy in organized matter which enables it to maintain and develop its structure by adaptation to environment, to take nourishment and thus grow and repair its own waste, to make such movements, by reflex action to external stimuli, as in the struggle for existence, prove expedient, and finally to propagate itself by the creation of young as its own maturity of growth is reached. All this is done

under the compulsion of the inherent energy, which must carry the organism through its battling history from infancy to maturity and from maturity to death.

The first cell creatures probably were of the still existent type of the microscopic moneron, each consisting of a bit of protoplasmic slime of a complex chemical organization. The next development was probably that of the same simple organism of a protoplasmic cell, but now surrounding an apparent nucleus or kernel. Of this type is the still existing amoeba. In both cases, when maturity is reached, the offspring are produced simply by the division of the original cell into two, their birth thus meaning the death of the parent. From the beginning, the internal life force as it develops the parent and produces the progeny, seems to show its affinity or identity with that which develops the simple nebular matter to more and more complex forms, and, in the rocks, by the play of its balanced powers, produces so many beautiful, crystallized mineral forms. Probably it was only after millions of trials, so to speak, that Nature finally succeeded in forming cells of such a kind as had in favor of their continuance the tendency to split up after maturity of growth; in other words, the tendency to multiply or reproduce.

Some of these cells were of a variety that tended to herd together in globular or cylindrical masses, and thus meet the struggle for existence by a kind of primitive co-operation. Thus were formed many-celled, but unified or individual plants and animals, at first of a very simple structure indeed. Their success in the struggle for survival tended, through heredity, to the perpetuation of the herding variety. The many-celled organism, of course, had advantages over the single-celled variety. Some of these confederated beings were the ancestors of the vegetable kingdom, planting themselves in the ocean beds, mo-

tionless, except in so far as they grew downward in the soil to which they had affixed themselves and in which they spread out their roots in search for sustenance. Others, the fathers of animal life, were enabled by nervous contractions and expansions to create, if only to meet temporary needs, irregularities in their rounded bodies, that served them, like legs, as the means of motion along the ocean floor. The food which the single cell had to seek alone was sought in union by the confederated cells, in the water which passed through the hollow of the cylindrical or spherical mass. This ultimately led to a division of labor, by which the inner cells became the food gatherers furnishing nutrition to the whole mass, and the exterior cells became its defenders from external hostile conditions. The hollow wherein the food was assimilated was the primitive alimentary canal common to all animals.

Every new offspring, particularly as higher and more complex forms were reached, tended to vary in some trifling particular from its brothers, and it was those varieties which were best adapted to exist in the surrounding conditions, as, for example, those tending to herd, that had the best chance to survive. They, in turn, gave birth to progeny which, while tending to inherit those qualities which in the parent gave superiority, also tended to variance, thus causing the perpetuation of the process and the constant improvement, that is, better adaptation, of the species. So we have to this day simple creatures like the monera and amoebae we have been attempting to describe, which have continued, under favorable conditions, through the ages, side by side with the more and more complex confederated forms which have descended from one-celled ancestors. The natural selection of the better adapted varieties must have been aided too by the transmission, through heredity, of alterations in parts and functions, as they were developed, continued or discon-

tinued to meet the conditions of an ever changing experience.

It is not our task to attempt the fascinating, detailed description of the processes, so far as known, whereby, in the course of millions of years, the various species of the vegetable and animal kingdom were brought into existence. Suffice it to say that the evolution proceeded by a division of labor among the members of the cell confederacies. Originally each cell was, by the nature of its complex organization, sensitive, not only to the contacts of physical masses, but to such wave motions, whether in ether, air or water, as gave notice of the existence of altering and perhaps antagonistic, external conditions. We have seen that, through the course of the ages, some cells came to devote themselves specially to the assimilation of the nutriment brought in contact with them, while others, differently placed, became expert in defense of the whole organism, or in some one or more of the numerous other functions of life. In the same way, such a remarkable end was finally reached as the specialization of particular kinds of cells to receive the different kinds of external waves, such as those of light and sound, resulting, in the less lowly animals, in the formation of ear and eye. Originally every cell, in a sense, saw and heard. The sight and sound stimuli were apprehended by nervous responses of some vague kind to their motion, not reaching the later perfected sense reaction. The specialization of these functions in eye and ear resulted in the skilled acuteness of apprehension born of a vast race experience.

Thus, too, by variation through long periods, the method of procreation changed and this function was monopolized by special cells. The method by cell division continued, the individual new cells showing the ancestral tendency to unite into the new complex creature. But at a certain stage in evolution, the male and female principle



divided, each appearing in its own form of cell, remaining, however, in the same hermaphrodite organism, so that the female ovum had to be impregnated with the male sperm, before it became capable of dividing itself into the new cells. Thus again the method by division really continued, the split up cells again uniting themselves, before birth, to form the new animal or plant. Sometimes the process was completed, without further sex action, and not necessarily with parental separation, by budding. In the highest forms of animals, the male and female cells separated into the different bodies of one-sex creatures. But, high or low, plant or animal, every infant organism repeats in a short time its ancestral history of ages; it develops before birth from the initial division of one cell.

Of course, mere tendency to variation could not lead to evolution, were it not accompanied by the hereditary principle. Each variety tended to perpetuate its own peculiarities, subject again, however, to variation. This enabled the process to continue in that so-called natural selection which is largely responsible for the development from the simple moneron of all the multitudinous species of the present time. Other forces than natural selection co-operated. Always given heredity, there is the powerful influence of environment and the endeavors of living organisms to meet it, and, among the higher animals, sexual selection. This operates either by the standard of attractiveness set up by either sex in mating or by the superior strength of the male who wins his mate by successful combat with his rival.

It is interesting to note, as above intimated, that the embryo of the simplest as well as the most complicated type of confederated animal must, of necessity, pass in large part through the stages of its ancestry. Each precedent push in the long history, so to speak, must be reproduced so that like may produce like. So, in the em-



bryo of a human being we see repeated, before our scientific eye, many of the stages which in nature took millions of years from the original cell through the series of ancestral animals to the man. The human feminine egg or ovum is originally an apparently unnucleated mass of protoplasm, like the moneron. After it is impregnated by the male sperm cell, however, it grows into a nucleated, amoeba-like cell, which splits into two cells. These in turn split into four, the four into eight, the eight into sixteen, and so on, until the confederacy of numerous cells thus created finally develops into a primitive form of worm-like animal. This, during the remaining period of gestation, then develops through many of the forms of precedent animal life in the ancestral chain, until it finally becomes the full-formed, infant human.

At first, and for ages, the only forms developed were marine and simple. Those in the earlier periods were limited to the mollusk family. The fishes came much later. Then came the reptiles, initially amphibian. The ocean shallows seem to have been best fitted to life development; and, as the ebbing tides often left these places exposed, that variety would naturally tend to survive which had organs fitted to derive the oxygen necessary to their existence from the air as well as from the water. The reptiles met this condition and for a vast period dominated life, both marine and terrestrial, their land life beginning in the shallows and in the swamps along the ocean borders, but later covering the uplands as well.

The differing rock strata of the earth, deposited, as they were, in successive ages, and containing the innumerable fossil remains of those ages, give us the veritable picture of this marvelous development. From these we can almost see the birds slowly developing from the reptiles, while coincidentally, and from the original life trunk, descended the mammals. These, after untold aeons of

time, and only after pitting, in a tremendous struggle for existence, their superior brains against the strength of their monstrous reptilian enemies, eventuated in men. The plants also, in the meantime, had little by little crept up to the heights from their origin in the ocean beds and in the swamps, their multitudinous varieties gradually finding it possible to develop the organs necessary for existence under these different conditions. They had to learn to assimilate the life-giving water in new ways on land. There, the crumbling surface rocks slowly became soil, and the rain-soaked soil here and there, under favoring conditions, gradually became green with a luxuriant life.

From the beginning, the various animals have been able to find sustenance only by feeding upon each other or upon plants. Thus their existence could only be preserved, not alone by the defeat of relentless natural forces, but by constant killing. Such was and is the ceaseless war for existence in which countless numbers of the weaker or less adapted forms have found extinction in death in order that a few might survive. The law of life has been, to put it crudely but plainly, eat or be eaten. And as the animal kingdom developed into higher and higher, that is to say more and more complex forms, this law became more and more cruel in the savagery of the struggle, the sensibility of the victims, and the ferocious expression of primitive instincts; at least until the development and civilization of men.

For, wondrous to tell, the evolutionary force, not only by an ever increasing differentiation and complexity added form to form, but in man, its last and highest manifestation, brought into the drama a new kind of power which, like Frankenstein's monster, has turned upon its progenitor. Human reason was born, made itself at least the limited monarch of Nature, and is more and more assuming, not in arrogance but in confidence, to

manacle, tame and control the cruelties and ferocities of the very force which gave it earthly being. When we think of this control as an improving influence, we mean, of course, that men are attempting to manage things in their own interest. That interest, we shall see, is beginning to find altruistic self-restraint a good in itself.

The development of mammals was accompanied by a progressive growth of the nervous and cerebral system, but the new control by the highest mammal was due chiefly to two features that distinguish men from all other beings, speech and the ability to make and handle implements. These two great faculties not only by their own value co-operated to produce this result, but by a curious kind of interaction in the human nervous system incalculably increased men's brain power. No longer was the battle to go to the physically strong when the physically weak could, so to speak, fasten from a safe distance into the foe manufactured teeth more powerful than any made by Nature. Men's weapons for attack and defense and the tools whereby the forests and all the materials of the earth, as rapidly as men have learned to utilize them, were forced to serve their wants, at once gave them a tremendous advantage in the cosmic struggle. And it is not necessary to do more than mention that other and superlative advantage which lay in the ability first to exchange warning, command and advice, and later every form of idea by means of words.

Caves, streams and rocks, by the indefatigable labors of archaeologists, have been made to give up, to an instructive if still wofully deficient extent, some of the secrets of early men and of their ape-like ancestors or cousins. This work is still in its infancy, and when Asia and Africa have been subjected to the same pains-taking labors in this field as Europe, we shall probably learn some very interesting things concerning man's original

habitat and mode of living. The evidence of stones and bones, taken in connection with the geologic formations in which they have been found, is quite sufficient already to render it likely that in Europe and elsewhere erect and probably ape-like beings used very crude stone weapons and implements as long as 500,000 years ago. And we get glimpses from that time on of the remains of men or near-men, some of them probably living hundreds of thousands of years ago. Moreover we have the clearest evidence of the existence in Europe of men of our own kind, about 50,000 years ago.

These men, of the so-called later Palaeolithic age, still used crude stone implements, vastly superior, however, to those found in the earlier strata. They were of course savages and, the condition of human bones of even a later period indicates, probably cannibals; but they made the first great discovery harbingering civilization,—fire. It is interesting to speculate how this revolutionizing discovery was made. It seems plausible to suppose it due to the chance friction of flint instruments. However that may be and however frequent and costly such accidents may have been before they were turned to immense profit, it is fascinating to imagine the final conquest of this useful but dangerous agency by some of the shrewder savages, who watched it with admiration and fear. They needed only to learn to control it in order to enjoy its manifest advantage of heat and to develop its other supremely useful functions. It is no wonder that the mysterious flame was later kept perpetually burning in their cavern habitations either to be worshiped as a kind of god or by reason of the difficulty of creating it anew, or perhaps for both these reasons.

Some ten thousand to fifteen thousand years ago, these Palaeolithic men disappeared. Whether conquered by or merely merging with their successors, we do not know. But



henceforth the stage is held by the so-called Neolithic men, our own cultural ancestors. They seem to have been relatively few in number and widely scattered. Their mode of existence, like that of their Palaeolithic predecessors, was originally hunting and fishing. This fact and their wide dispersion indicate the hard and tragic conditions in which they struggled to exist. Their various fields of operations must have been successively exhausted, affording less and less sustenance, as with their crude weapons they struggled against the fierce beasts by which they were surrounded and through which in part they lived. Gradually they must have been compelled to leave the warmer climates of their origin for the cold regions in which their relics have so far been chiefly found. Warfare too was an element in their lives, as inter-tribal struggles for the means of subsistence marked the hard conditions of these ages.

Early these men had learned to make rough garments of the skins of the animals they slew, as protection against the cold, and they made use of fire both for warmth and cooking. Their implements, while still of stone, are much more varied and of a more finely finished type than those of the Palaeolithic men. They had invented, also, a form of pottery, crude but even roughly ornamental. And, even in their earlier history, they had learned to tame some of their wild beast enemies, and ultimately domesticated the dog and cattle. They had also invented a primitive flax weaving.

The Palaeolithic men had lived in the open or under hide tents or in caves. Even comparatively early Neolithic men had reached the stage of constructing rough wooden huts, while, as we shall see, the later ones attained a primitive architecture in stone. Moreover, in their conflicts with the beasts, they were no longer limited to the thrust or cast of spear and axe, but now were able to es-



tablish their mastery by very effective action from a distance, through the use of bow and arrow.

Later, they made the next great basic discovery of the human race, the art of agriculture. This, like that of fire, was probably due to accident. Perhaps some shrewd thinker, observing that fragments of vegetable food, scattered in loose earth, sprouted, utilized that great fact for the invention of a new and wonderful method of living, thus presented as a priceless boon to the race. Whatever the origin, there is evidence that even half-savage Neolithic men cultivated, not indeed settled farms, but sporadic crops, probably chiefly as fodder for their cattle. Later, about 5000 B. C., or at earliest, 6000 B. C., true agriculture among settled communities, which is the beginning of civilization, appeared, probably under Neolithic auspices and in the two great fertile regions where this development might have been first expected, the valleys of the Nile in Egypt and of the Euphrates and the Tigris in Mesopotamia.

Men often fail to realize how much of their present comparatively great comfort they owe to these savage ancestors. It is, however, apparent that most of our rapid later development is due to their pioneer work during the thousands and thousands of years of their painful struggles. Everything depended first, of course, upon their ability to survive, and then upon their discoveries and inventions of weapons, tools, fire, cattle domestication, clothing, buildings and agriculture. Even the use of metals originated in these prehistoric times. We may surmise from the locations of some of the relics that the stones used to bank the fire places sometimes included metallic ores and that from this chance smelting first emerged that essential art. The wide-spread use of bronze, succeeding, only some seventy centuries or so ago, the ages of the exclusive use of stone and bone, seems to have originated in

those districts where its constituents are found together. Naturally the first metals used would be those surface ones which are easily obtained. In fact, Neolithic men appear to have used surface gold for ornamentation. The use of iron developed much later, probably in the period between 2000 and 1000 B. C.

How much civilization owes to these hard-won beginnings must be fairly evident from the fact alone of its rapid advance once begun, as compared to the tremendous periods of time consumed in the development of the preliminary arts. Ape men and Palaeolithic men roamed the earth for probably a half million years or more before Neolithic men appeared, and the latter must have fought and labored probably as long as 20,000 years ago. They continued to exist in the northern regions until they were annihilated by the Aryan invaders of several thousand years before the Christian era. Some of them probably survive among the peoples of Europe to this day in isolated communities, while in the more southern regions, they developed prehistoric civilizations, which finally gave way before the invading Aryan hordes, particularly the Greeks, who absorbed their arts and culture. It is very probable too that these Neolithic men were the founders of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations, and also, as some scholars believe, of those of Crete, legendary Troy and other primitive Mediterranean nations, who later succumbed to the Greeks or Romans. Thus, whether directly through the latter or indirectly through Egypt and Chaldea, the beginnings of our modern culture may be traced to the Neolithic men.

This old earth of ours has seen many tremendous changes both of climate and land elevation. Climates which are now warm were in prehistoric times cold, and perhaps climates that are now cold might then have been warm. Lands now separated by wide oceans were often

then connected and oceans now cover areas which were then elevated and inhabited. Many authorities believe that America's aboriginal people, who are quite similar to certain Asiatics, are of Neolithic origin, reaching America some ten or twelve thousand years ago, or even further back, by land route which then stretched either across the present Bering Strait, or somewhere else between the two continents.

The earliest civilizations were founded before the invention of even the crudest forms of writing but certainly not longer than some 8000 years ago. History begins later, with the development, in these civilizations, first of crude writings and monuments, and then of the modern alphabet. It is good, therefore, never to lose the correct historic perspective. It required probably hundreds of thousands of years to develop men of settled habits and national organization, perhaps five thousand more for these men to attain some degree of culture, refinement and settled law, while certainly what passes to-day for civilization is not much over 3000 years old. Continuous written history goes back no longer. Civilization, according to any definition, then, represents but a minute fraction of terrestrial history. In the higher use of the term, that by which it connotes true gentility and enlightened reason, it cannot be said even yet to exist except among a percentage of the educated classes. It is naturally in that limited sense that we employ the term when we speak of ancient civilizations. To-day these classes are much more numerous, while, alas, still far too small. On them, however, the great masses have always depended for guidance. Long and well-led ages must still elapse before those masses reach such a state of development as will make them truly intelligent and gentle, subjecting their fears and passions to the domination of a wise and thus ethical reason.

## CHAPTER X

### EVOLUTION AND RELIGION

**T**HERE are few competent judges to-day who do not consider evolution an established fact, whatever differences of opinion there may be as to the details and methods of the process. This is the gratifying result of the vast amounts of evidence accumulated by all the sciences, particularly astronomy, chemistry, geology and biology. Sad and strange, therefore, is the battle that the enthusiastic discoverers and champions of this truth have had to wage during the last seventy-five years, and in fact still must in lesser measure continue to wage against the forces of revealed religion. It has been an unequal struggle, it is true. Among the intellectuals, the arguments of the churches have appeared ridiculous, though, alas, the points of the controversy have often been too fine for popular appreciation. Yet larger and larger numbers are realizing that the old beliefs must at least be in some way harmonized with the new truths.

It is only some three centuries since the Church dared to burn at the stake those who began the great battle for the establishment of Copernican astronomy. It was hard indeed for ecclesiasticism to see its foundations threatened, or apparently so, by the proposition that Earth and its men were far from holding a central and dominating position in the universe. That illuminating view, nevertheless, speedily prevailed; and the Church was compelled to yield the position and to reconcile the new truth as best it might with the Biblical authority. But from that time on,

it has still stoutly resisted each new advance of science that even seemed to contradict its dogmas, until, defeated at every point, and particularly in the last great engagement over evolution, many of its leaders are now visibly preparing to surrender its last entrenchment.

We have here an apt illustration of the handicap, to which we have already called attention, under which even learned men must often labor by reason of their early saturation, in church, Sunday school and home, with the authoritative contents of the Biblical text-book of magic. We often find such men accepting with enthusiasm the noble truth of evolution, even denying the special creation of life, and of men too, as narrated in Genesis, but still professing to be Christians and engaging in the pitiful and hopeless effort to reconcile their science with the revered tenets of their ancestral creed.

These men argue that the sacred writings were not intended as works of science and that, therefore, their divine Author was content that the men he used to transcribe his thoughts should in such matters not exceed the knowledge and limitations of their time. They discard the whole fatuous chain of miracles and legends, disown the virgin birth and other numerous, fanciful accompaniments of the central revelations, some of them, even the burning lake of eternal punishment, and yet doubtfully profess to accept, most incredible of all, those central revelations of a trinitary monotheism, the fleshly incarnation of God, the resurrection of the crucified Saviour, the atonement and the Messianic return for the final day of judgment.

The more advanced of these men really see that there is nothing either in the ethics or basic monotheism of their religion that is beyond the attainment of natural reason unassisted by magic. Some have progressed so far in scientific knowledge that there is little left of the old beliefs except faith in the existence of a divine Father



who has promised men the boon of immortality. Others, like some Unitarians, though purely monotheistic, almost Judaistic, still cling to a qualified belief in the divinity of Jesus, which, while not extending to the point of identity with the Godhead, seems to connote a special and perfect manifestation of that incarnation which it is their philosophy to believe is true, in lesser degree, in the case of all men.

Whatever the more or less avowed progress of some Modernist clergymen in these directions, however, great numbers of their brethren are still Fundamentalist, while practically all the creeds remain unaltered and such that it seems incredible that men who have subscribed to them and sworn to uphold them can, while still in the church, remain happy in entertaining and sometimes preaching liberal and directly contradictory ideas. Surely such men must be merely timidly yielding to the force of habit and the conservative fear of destroying institutions so anciently sacred. For the sake of human dignity, they ought now to be eagerly ready to recover their self-respect by happily aiding in the final discarding of the ancient superstitions whose burden they find so heavy.

The time is ripe. There is a great field to be covered by spiritual leaders in the teaching of a noble, utilitarian ethics divorced from superstition and based on reason. Men are ready enough to discover a just foundation for moral conduct, the cultivation of which they are only too much in danger of neglecting as its ancient, miraculous sanctions are more and more falling into disrepute. And for that vast number, intellectual as well as uninformed, who still feel the need of God and some assurance of human importance, there still remains the hopeful fact that neither evolution nor science as a whole is in any way in conflict with natural religion.

For, as should always be borne in mind, true religion

is such a belief or faith in the existence of metaphysical or unsensed realities as is not repugnant to reason. The field of science is that of natural phenomena or facts of experience; but science is the first to acknowledge, indeed to assert, that when, in its tracing of these phenomena and their relations backward from cause to cause, it finally reaches an absolute and infinite, uncaused Ultimate impenetrable by finite intellect, its general investigation is ended. Its well-nigh inexhaustible field lies in the study of the ways in which that Ultimate works in the physical world. The religious devotee and the metaphysician may still attempt to pierce the mystic veil. The promise and validity of such an effort will be considered hereafter. What now it is desired to emphasize is that evolution in no way solves the problem. It merely takes the chain of causation immeasurably further backward than has ever been deemed possible until within the last century or so, and, as has always been the case with science, ultimately reaches that final cause where knowledge ceases and perhaps must yield to faith. The evolutionary agent is the mysterious, hidden life-energy of which we have been endeavoring to give some poor notion in our description of the development of the universe from native ether to basic matter and from matter to the highest forms of living creatures. The triumphant journey of modern science and philosophy as far as the discovery of that energy, as we shall see later, rings the death knell of old-fashioned materialism.

Some profess to believe that man is supernaturally endowed with an emotion, termed religious sentiment, which absolutely compels some form of religious belief. This is a delusion. That sentiment is itself the perfectly logical and natural product of a long evolution from the earlier emotions of fear and wonder. These feelings, in turn, marked the surviving varieties of men who, by having

them well developed, were the better fitted to learn and escape threatening danger. Certainly religious sentiment is not the faculty of any beast, and among savages it first manifests itself in fear before powerful and uncomprehended natural forces.

Its next development lies in the awe and wonderment which accompany the early inability of men to trace the causal chain of these forces, as they do in relation to the more simple and easily understood phenomena of everyday life. But finally as knowledge advances and these causes are gradually exposed and their relationship in ever lengthening and receding chains of physical agencies is more and more clearly understood, the religious sentiment surprisingly grows purer and, in a sense, stronger. For men come more and more to realize the mightiness of Nature, the subtlety of these causes, the relative littleness of men and, above all, the insolubility of the ultimates either finally reached or dimly sensed. The sentiment reaches its climax before the final appearance of the great riddle of the infinite and absolute and before the difficultly attained conception of the still timelessness which underlies the physical and the changing. As the progressive conquest of hostile Nature continues to stimulate human courage, the sentiment expands beyond early physical fear into high appreciation of the mystic riddle and earnest craving for a love that may sustain the growing aspiration for a more than physical life. Thus religious feeling early manifests itself in polytheism and gradually develops through monolatry and anthropomorphic monotheism, until it finally bursts forth into that highly spiritual conception which could only mature fully with advanced science and philosophy.

It is the privilege, nay the duty, of men blessed with that type of sensitive and penetrating mentality which cannot be happy within the limitations of physical sci-

ence, to entertain this sentiment. At least it constitutes an ennobling influence; and, so long as the line is clearly recognized that divides it from even empiric physical knowledge, there can be no intellectual degeneration in yielding to it. It does not rest blindly on childish superstitions or on ancient authority or on magic, but on the same foundation as science itself. For, in the last analysis, everything one knows, except perhaps the fact of his own existence, is based on faith. Things are not what they seem; but the mind can truly know only the seeming, that is, its own impressions of external phenomena. What, if anything, underlies them is beyond possible earthly experience. If one touches any natural object some force impresses upon the brain a sensation of resistance. The object, if it exist, is of course not the sensation. What the object in itself is we can never know, but science starts with faith in its external or extra-mental reality.

The fact that this faith is empirically justified, for the evanescent uses of a mortal life, by a constant and consistent experience, while metaphysical or religious faith is insusceptible of experimental demonstration, does not affect the basic truth that the existence of an actual physical reality is no less a matter of faith than that of spiritual reality. Science itself, except when largeness of vision is sometimes stunted by over-specialization, has never failed to add to its initial assumption the necessary reservation that its knowledge is relative only, that the apparently crude materialism of Nature overlies the more basic reality of a noumenal energy. Philosophy from its earliest days has presaged this primal truth and science has now approached it by the recent demonstration of a universal physical energy which really constitutes matter. This is the energy which underlies the structure of the atom and of its constituent electrons, which is manifested in the omnipresent ether of which they are develop-



ments or modifications; and probably it is this same energy or a still profounder reality which is ceaselessly transmuting the eternal, underlying, universal being into an ever active becoming and evolution.

What is it that makes some modern men, even of the class which ought to know better, find in this sublime conception anything irreligious? Is it more religious to think of God, like a great giant, capriciously manufacturing a man out of hand from the dust of the ground, or to try to think of him, patiently through countless ages, and with a divine persistence in the sustenance of developed matter under his own laws, gradually forming universes and force-driven matter and animated beings? But if science joins with metaphysics in finding in Nature an immanent, creative energy, may science or faith find in that energy any purposiveness?

Of course, it was natural for man, when he first began to think at all, observing how everything seemed fitted to his needs, to entertain the opinion that everything had been designed for his central well-being. It was natural for him to suppose that the sun, moon and stars were revolving about him for his use, that the plants and animals were given to serve as his food and otherwise for his special benefit, that, for the same limited purpose, the waters in a perpetual cycle were made to rise to the heavens in order to fall in life-renewing power upon the fields, only to be carried by brook and stream and river again to the thus exhaustless ocean. And when he failed to explain the pains and fears of which he was the constant victim, his natural solace was the hope of compensation in a perfect and endless, if physical, future life.

It is a wonderful achievement of science that it has shown so clearly that all this appearance of design in Nature in favor of man is due to the fact that he is himself the outcome of the forces that after unimaginable aeons



finally brought him into a being that thus had necessarily to be in harmony with them. All things would thus, to his budding intellect, seem to be created for him, since he was produced by, and never could have existed without them. From the fierce and perpetual battles of the contending forces the human race indeed emerged to the surprised face of Nature, but could only exist and continue to develop and exist by ceaseless warfare against still existing hostile conditions, which only become less and less so by almost imperceptible stages and in long ages of time under the natural law of the survival of the fittest.

But if we can no longer speak of design in the old, anthropomorphic way, what shall we say as to a profounder design in the evolutionary process? The real question is whether the underlying cosmic force, unknowable, infinite, absolute and monistic, which certainly there is no good reason not to term God, is blind and unconscious, working without purpose and in accordance with the mechanical necessities of its own mysterious nature, or whether it is intelligent and purposive. Such a question certainly relates itself to that other and vital one which inquires whether it is an arrogance and delusion of the human mind to conceive itself of any importance in the infinite whole. Differently phrased, is that mind of such a nature that, with the disintegration of the human organism at death, disappears the conscious personality which for a brief instant of infinity animated it? Is that mind, which in its higher development penetrates so deeply into the nature of the cosmos and feels so beautifully the inexpressible things beyond the reach of intellect, in common with the God of which it also is an emanation or manifestation, an indestructible entity? The justification for religious sentiment depends on the possibility in reason of an answer to these questions in favor both of a planning God and of persistent human souls. Religion can be noth-

ing for men unless it carries with it a belief in personal immortality, or at least in such a personal gratification of the deepest aspirations for knowing and loving, as in their satisfaction may render the soul content to sink its individuality in the eternal whole.

While reason may justify faith, it is manifest that it cannot justify any hope of knowledge of such matters. All these questions are intellectually unanswerable. Infinitudes and noumena, things in themselves, must eternally elude the intellectual processes of finite beings who can work only with their own limited impressions and the concepts they form from them. Science, however, must, in order to exist and to progress, accept on faith the existence of the external universe and be satisfied if on that assumption its results work. They have done so in enabling men not only to understand present phenomena but accurately to predict future ones. In the same way, while no one, on any conclusive ground of evidence, has the right to criticize a really scientific, materialistic philosophy, neither can there be any valid criticism of a philosophy of faith, intelligently grounded in the mystic borderland which science itself discloses on the confines of physical knowledge. It will be for history to pronounce which works better for the advancement of men.

A very important inquiry in the choice between these two philosophies is whether the evolutionary development to higher and higher forms evinces conscious design. Such an inquiry, however, cannot even have a meaning, scientifically speaking, considering that the very use of the word "higher" is misleading. When a man speaks of one form as higher than another, he is unconsciously referring things to his own viewpoint. What reason has he to suppose that he himself is, in any absolute sense, higher than any other form that ever was developed? More complex he unquestionably is; but why higher? And what do we

mean by conscious design? Men seem to have such a function, but men are poor, finite animal organisms. How can they presume to speak of an infinite and eternal Power in the same terms as those which they apply to themselves? For the moment we pass the consideration that if that Power be not dead and mechanical, it must have a nature of the order of consciousness and purpose, or of some other significant order, which totally transcends human description or conception; and that, even if it be dead, its nature must similarly be transcendent.

It is not only imaginable but possible that on other planets or under other conditions even on this planet, beings far different in every way from men might have developed, who, looking upon us, might consider us strange monstrosities indeed. It is possible that the development might have been not only structurally but qualitatively different in mind and body, though indeed it must still have been a development of and from matter. Such conceptions will assist us to understand that when we speak of higher evolutionary forms our point of view is entirely egoistic. Why is that peculiar lump of flesh which we call a man supposed to be beautiful, or his brain development admirable, except from our point of view? And, except as in the struggle for existence the development of greater and greater mentality has assisted men in the conquest of Nature and their own aggrandizement, how can such a development be said to be higher? Even though we note the growth through the ages of the lowest form of cell life until it develops finally to consciousness, by what standard are we entitled to call the one higher or better than the other? May it not be said that the development simply chances thus and thus, so far as science is aware. If the perfectly admissible hypothesis of an unconscious God be adopted, what is there in man that is higher than the lowest mollusk that floats in the ocean? The better

ability to improve the conditions of a fast vanishing life is of no absolute value in the realm of eternity.

And yet is there nothing in the consideration that those which we call the higher forms are increasingly aware of things and increasingly capable of penetration and management, of more and more variegated emotions, of more and more intelligent exercise of apparent will? Do these things afford no rational basis for a faith in spiritual realities at least as strong as that in the physical ones? Though it be true that we have never attained, and perhaps in the nature of things are inhibited from ever attaining, experimental demonstration of spiritual truth, as we constantly do of physical truth, nevertheless it is true to say that our only knowledge not based on faith is that of the conscious existence of the thinking ego. This fact ought to be an element in the decision, joined to the overwhelming conviction we have, however derived, of the superiority of mental or spiritual values to others. Our own world system, we have seen, was trillions of years in developing before its ever immanent animation finally gave birth, in its most complex physical forms, to an awareness which, ever increasing in the wondrous evolutionary process, finally burst forth into the splendid human consciousness of the material forms less complex than itself. Does it not seem as though a Nature having no real existence except in infinite thought has been forced through all the ages to reach those complex physical and finite forms to and through which might be projected its own substratum of mysterious mental life? Does it not seem probable that the only true reality is mind, without which physical things can have no being?

There is no way to prove that in the absolute scale of things a man is higher than a dog or than a stone. We cannot prove, except for us, the superior value, over beastly appetites, of the profound curiosities of the scien-



tist, of heroic martyrdom over savage selfishness, of the exquisite harmonies of poetry and of music over the snarls of battling greed. But the powerful conviction we have on these matters, more powerful than seems due solely to their utilitarian advantages, is a fact we are entitled to take into consideration. When we tremble with admiration before beauty and with awe before sublimity, when we thrill with delight and aspiration at symphonic harmonies, are we compelled to rest satisfied by their possible ultimate explanation in the secret depths of those atomic rhythms which constitute our physical well-being? Or are we entitled to entertain a faith that, even though that may be their humble origin, they express in some way higher and more absolute values? And are we not entitled to entertain such a faith, if we find it pragmatically workable in the development of our finest happiness?

All these so-called higher things have developed unquestionably in a perfectly natural way from what for us are lower ones, even if we are not able as yet in all cases to trace the process. Still our minds seem to accept this development as an upward one, apart from the egoistic viewpoint, as truly and really as they accept the existence of matter. We may be deceiving ourselves, but this belief seems like a conviction, like an accord or harmony with some profoundly basic thing, to which we are naturally traveling.

Mentality seems to us to be something very original and profound in Nature, which absorbs and controls the rest. It seems to us that, however utilitarian the process may be, things are developing in a great curve toward some original reality, towards the supernal exaltation of mental over physical manifestations, of spiritual over material satisfactions. We know that science has never bridged, and probably, in the nature of things, never can bridge the gulf between mechanical reflex and conscious-



ness. We know that to any man his own thinking is his only certainty. Logical processes tell us that, while mind appears last in the evolutionary history, it is probably quite stupid to believe that appearance to be really its first. It is certainly a tenable hypothesis to suppose that wondrous apparition to be really the breaking through of the cosmic energy as soon as a fitting physical instrument had been produced. While these metaphysical conceptions are by no means facts, the evolutionary development of educated minds which strongly cherish them is a fact, and one with which we must reckon. The conceptions are far from unreasonable and they afford for the religious sentiment a foundation infinitely stronger and more reverend than any upon which the ancient supernatural religions are based.

The greatest problem is that of evil. Never has any system of religion or philosophy been able satisfactorily to explain that tremendous fact. To the fears and pains which countless multitudes of all kinds of conscious creatures have had to endure for so many ages, and still must endure in their battle for life and satisfaction, we must add, when we reach the more complex nervous structures of men, the agonies of worry and uncertainty, the remorse of so-called sin and the horror of death. The problem has not been rendered easier by the frequent concomitance of the torture of the virtuous and the prosperity of the wicked. Nor to many noble minds does any solution seem possible in face of the crowning disaster, rendering nugatory all their hopes and annihilating all their aspirations in the grave. The solution offered by revealed religion is a vain one; for, while admitting its inability to explain the divine purpose in permitting evil, it merely teaches a blind faith in a professed revelation of amendment in the world to come, even to the damnation of the wicked. With the exposure of the flimsiness of the

evidence for that revelation and its general inadequacy and absurdity, men are again driven to rely upon reason alone in meeting this mystery. The orthodox solution, moreover, fails egregiously inasmuch as it has to join to divine omniscience the foreordaining of the great majority to a cruel punishment, which, perhaps for disciplinary reasons, it has made everlasting.

Evolution even more than theology refuses to scan, question or assume divine purpose. But, for it, evil, in becoming a thoroughly understood natural process, ceases to be a problem. Even death presents no problem to those perhaps more callous, perhaps more philosophic minds which are able to resign themselves calmly to extinction without rebellion against that cosmic end which focuses everything upon the race to the utter disregard of the individual. Evil, in the evolutionary scheme, is but maladjustment. It comes from conflict. As the less adapted types succumb, there arise, even if at their expense, ever more successful and satisfied creatures. Finally in man appears that giant force of mental control which is able to alleviate the pains of the struggle. Henceforth evil needs only to be studied and mastered. Viewing history with a wide vision that overlooks temporary ebbs, it is apparent that this mastery is, very slowly perhaps, but surely, asserting itself. Human happiness is ever increasing. Gradually, by the arts of men, Nature is being compelled to yield more generously its concealed bounties, disease is being conquered, death postponed, physical suffering controlled, poverty and ennui abated, and intellectual and artistic delights enormously increased, while human benignity is even widening to include the very beasts within its cherishing care.

Evolution thus teaches us the utter falsity of such ideas as sin and eternal damnation. Far from it being true that the human race started in innocent perfection, it started

in savage imperfection. Far from it being true that it fell through sin, it has been constantly rising through a growing enlightenment which enables it to avoid the mistakes designated by the orthodox as sin. Such mistakes have been and continue to be tragic ones, carrying terrible penalties, but there can be no sin in the acts of limited beings painfully struggling, and purposively, ever on and upward to that intelligence and knowledge which alone destroy error. Mistakes there are, crimes penalized by those human laws, or vices by that public opinion, wisely set up for the security and improvement of the race; but never sins against an almighty God by weak beings ever battling and suffering under the pitiless conditions which he has so inscrutably imposed. Later we shall see how, by the intelligent correction of error, even unselfishness develops naturally from the savage evolutionary process.

Once again, then, it seems that in this hard education, in this evolutionary abatement of evil, in this gradual genesis of a dignified mentality, with its ardent hunger for knowledge, its tender susceptibility to love, its ever-growing and noble aspiration to conquer and surmount Nature, and above all its capacity for reaching a heroic altruism, those who desire it have reasonable ground for a faith in absolute values, transcending appearances, that manifest themselves to us ever more and more, and that seem at once the beginning and the harmonizing end of a profound cosmic being.

This leads to the emphasis, as an element in natural religion, of the mysterious, apparently total difference in kind between matter and its mechanical action, on the one hand, and consciousness and will, on the other. At a certain stage in the evolutionary process these latter phenomena, at first in a lower form, and later in that which we call the human soul, appear; and, so far as science is able to see, as the product of matter and physical energy. In

fact, old-fashioned materialism is fond of positing consciousness as the secretion of cerebral cells as truly as the digestive juices are the secretions of stomach cells. This view is, of course, exceedingly odious to the orthodox. Many who even accept the evolutionary principle to a point short of the first conscious life forms, or even short of the first men, have bitterly combated the possibility of the spontaneous generation of conscious life, or at least human life, from matter. They have been unwilling to concede that this last wonder could have come about without supernatural, divine intervention. Why they should take so strong and illogical a position on this point seems incomprehensible since, as already pointed out, a cosmic development, mystic enough in its origin, would seem far more truly religious than the silly conception of manufacture by an anthropomorphic god.

Moreover, although it must be conceded that even many evolutionists fail here, the whole question loses its importance and even the notion of spontaneous generation becomes sublime when we cease to think of it as something new in the universal development. If, on the contrary, we have discovered life in the entire process, if we recognize it in the atom or the crystal as truly as in the conscious animal, if we find it expressing itself ever more completely as higher physical instruments are achieved, we have found a basis for the religious sentiment infinitely stronger than that of special creation.

However, whether we adopt this view or not, and even if we adopt the crude notion that thought is the mechanical product of cerebral action, we must all agree that when the first animal consciousness appeared, whether as a new or infinitely old phenomenon, whether as the highest product of blind forces or as the loved but vastly inferior child of supernal Wisdom, something appeared that from the mundane point of view was completely novel and, at



least in its human form, totally different in kind from the mechanism of inorganic Nature. An unfathomable will and intelligence was born, a soul as inscrutable as the noumena which underlie phenomena. No science is able to show any similitude between matter or its energies and thought.

Every one ought to reflect upon this stupendous difference. Whatever matter may be in its ultimate nature, for us it maintains itself inert. It lies subject to our wills, so far as we have learned how to rule it. And even its most gigantic forces follow mechanical laws which we are learning both to know and control. Titanic as those forces are relative to the pygmy bodies of men, to what do they amount in comparison with the intellect that penetrates and rules them?

We have seen that this earth is less than a grain of sand among the countless suns and the vast abysses of endless space by which it is surrounded. Yet to us, physically speaking, it is an enormous, one might almost say an infinite thing. Try to think for a moment of all that it is and all that it contains, all its many nations, all its physical forces and ponderous natural features, all the tremendous and, even as yet, unexplored contents of its vast and variegated surfaces and impenetrable interior. Try to picture its mountains, prairies, continents, oceans, cañons, precipices, glaciers, mines, roaring cataracts and steaming geysers, towering peaks and belching volcanoes, its thousands of miles of tossing billows, its arid wastes of desert sand, its secret jungles inhabited only by roaring beasts, its crowded cities and cultivated farms, its huntsmen shooting in the mountains, its fishermen angling in the waters, house-wives scolding in the kitchens, convicts skulking in their cells, its luxurious mansions and filthy hovels, feasting fashion and crime-concocting starvation, joyful, dancing youths and maidens and wretched, heart-



broken unfortunates, crime and innocence, plenty and starvation, joy and despair, births and deaths, yet all in ceaseless motion, spinning 25,000 miles a day about the central axis and hurled 1,000 miles a minute about the solar orb,—a nothing amid the worlds. And then think of those worlds, of the millions of giant stars, the raging forces on each of them, the measureless distances that separate them, the infinite void that surrounds them. Then, paraphrasing the words of the Psalmist, when you look upon these heavens, the work of God's fingers, the moon and the stars which he has ordained, what is man that God should be mindful of him? In the answer to that question lies the most stupendous fact of all.

So far as we can know, at least through intellectual processes, man is the highest force existing on this planet. His mentality transcends his littleness. It is a greater thing than all the universes and all the physical forces which threaten his existence. Reflect for a moment on the nature of this mentality. You who read a book may perhaps think of its writer. You may think you are reading the views, the mental pictures, of an individual animal. And so you are. But what do you mean by "views"? You are not thinking of the physical apparatus which the writer's mentality uses, of the voice that dictates the words, of the nervous system which carries from the brain the command for utterance, or even of that brain. You are thinking of something profounder which itself thinks and wills to reason with you. True, a brain is used and sends vibrating through the nerves into the vocal chords that which they are to trill forth in words for hearing and transcription. It is not these chords which think. And if it is the brain, what must be the nature of the complex, cellular make-up, itself composed of energies, which, unlike those of boiling water or burning fuel, find their expression in reasoning, emotions and will?

The message, however originally evolved, finds its way into print. Light vibrations reflected from the print strike your eyes and thence through the optic nerves travel into your brains. Your bodies, as you read, being physical things, touch the chairs upon which you sit. The brains which the message reaches, being physical things, although much more complex ones, occupy fixed positions in your heads. But what are physical things? What is their ultimate constitution? What is the difference between your bodies and that part of them which you call your brains? Is it matter, in the old crude sense, of either body or brain that comprehends the message? Is it matter that thinks and understands, agrees or disagrees? Or is it a soul, an angel, a demigod if you please, that extracts from the grosser instrumentality the deeper things of thought?

Does or does not this thinking soul, and whether or no it be permanent or individual, constitute a higher and different value than cerebral action? Is or is it not superior to all the myriads of millions of worlds and all the menacing physical forces that surround but cannot daunt it? The answer does not remain in doubt for most of us when we reflect that it is this soul that is conscious and reasons, that questions and investigates, that has unravelled and is unravelling the profoundest mysteries of the physical universe, that is mastering the most potent natural forces, that thrills with the fervor of its own intellectual enthusiasms, that throbs through every fibre of its being at orchestral harmonies or moving eloquence, that quivers with joy at the perception of the beautiful, that sheds tears of pity, that loves and longs, that mourns and remembers, that craves for sympathy, that venerates and worships, that passionately longs for the sum of absolute knowledge and to solve the mysteries of eternity, that yearns with all its strength for the boon of immortality.

Certainly in the existence of such conceptions, accept or reject them, there is room, even in company with a science that has destroyed superstition and supernaturalism, for hope and faith in a Nature that holds out to men the possibility of victory over death. Science will be the last to deny the utility of such a faith for those who crave it, so long as it is understood to be beyond her own domain and free from the taint of a dogmatism which professes knowledge of that which is intellectually unknowable.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE HISTORY OF MEN UNTIL THE TIME OF ALPHABETIC WRITING

**T**HE curious labors of modern archaeologists have disclosed even in widely separated lands the beginnings, some eighty centuries or more ago, of settled and civilized nations developed from the Neolithic savages. The monuments of these nations in their instructive similarity unerringly indicate that before their wide dispersion they had begun this development in common in some region as yet unknown. We may easily picture the formative processes. Law and government, except in the most rudimentary form, were at first conspicuously absent. The earliest organization was tribal, comprising little more than family or clan. The ever branching tribes separated sufficiently to give each room for the hunting and fishing necessary to its precarious sustenance. And from the beginning, alas, human ferocity, sharpened by perpetual struggle with an all too niggardly Nature, found vent in petty wars as one tribe trespassed upon the other's means of subsistence. Ordinary life within the tribe was sad and monotonous enough except in so far as brightened by men's natural optimism, itself an important factor in their survival, and one which found diversional satisfaction in rhythmic dances and bardic recitations.

As in the case of the primitive life cells, human survival had from the beginning been better assured among the varieties with the predilection for the comfort and co-operation of community association. Thus living gregar-

iously, men soon learned the utility of certain customs, which gradually crystallized into laws as the experience of many generations found them conducive to the general well-being. Among the earliest of these customs were those by which men were called upon to respect each other's right to property, wives and life. In early savagery the system of private property cannot be highly developed. The whole life tends to community of effort and enjoyment. In fact, there is no property except the food, which generally results from the common effort, the tools and weapons, and the hides which serve for shelter and clothing. But even in such a society, a man's dinner or that part of it which he elected to save for later consumption, the clothing and weapons which he personally used and perhaps personally had made, and certainly his several wives, soon came to be regarded as sacredly his own; and he who trespassed upon this primitive right was subject with tribal sanction to the just resentment of the owner. Killing, except in fair fight, was also an early recognized crime, while, fair or unfair, it anciently subjected the slayer to the blood rights of the injured family. Later in the development these early recognized offenses of murder, theft and adultery became punishable by public authority.

The tribal patriarch was supreme. As conditions grew more difficult and war more frequent, he was selected or replaced according to preeminence in strength and fighting qualities. There soon grew up, however, a separate and sometimes competing authority in the early medicine men or priests, who, we may be sure, acquired their functions by that intellectual superiority which enabled them to guide the tribe, in difficult situations, in the paths of contemporary wisdom. They constituted the wise men who knew how to placate the wrath of the gods. And such is the human love of power, displayed from the earliest



times, that we may be sure that natural ability was not averse, when necessary, to augment the awe inspired by it with that produced by artifice and legerdemain. Frequently there were conflicts between the patriarchal king and the priesthood, with alternating periods of royal and priestly authority.

We have seen that the Neolithic men had made a certain progress in primitive invention and had attained finally a crude agriculture. Many of their arts they probably had developed before off-shoots wandered into countries other than that of their original habitat, perhaps a Mediterranean or other region of favoring warmth. After the migrations, the development sometimes continued, sometimes retrograded, according to conditions; but always, after centuries of complete separation by barriers of mountain or water, and in differing climatic and physiographic environments, variations in race and language resulted.

Speech among the earliest savages must have begun with a few interjections to record their fears and joys, a few names or nouns to indicate those concrete things which had most to do with their daily existence, and then a few verbs to express the most common action. We may be sure that it was long before the vocabulary included more than a few hundred words, when we reflect that even in primitive communities to-day it may well be within one thousand. Consonants have always been the more important and stable feature of verbal sounds. Variation begins with the vowels. Even now, when language is in a way set and crystallized by print, we receive an object lesson in original lingual development in the ease with which, in the more illiterate communities, dialects chiefly of differing vowel constitution develop side by side with the classic tongue.

The modern science of comparative philology has been

a great aid to the archaeologist. The comparison of consonantal stocks often enables him to determine the antiquity of customs and the movements of races. For example, many of the languages of the Aryan race have a similar root for the word "daughter," which signifies also a milker. From this the conclusion is naturally drawn, not only that there must have been a word for daughter, but also that cattle domestication and milking must have been attained before this race began, about 3000 B. C., those successive migrations from its original home which enabled it ultimately to constitute nearly all the modern nations of Europe and, in less pure form, a few of those of Asia. On the other hand, these Aryan tongues have different word stocks for the various ideas connected with a life of agriculture, which indicates that before the separation of these people began they had not yet acquired that art.

Similarly, philological research indicates that the original Aryans had invented or copied the use of the wheel. But with them it was probably little more than a rough section of the tree trunk, since there are no common words indicating spokes. The use of horses began in chariot-fighting. They were certainly not employed for transportation or even as cavalry until a relatively late period, probably between 2000 and 1000 B. C. For several thousand years before those times, men transported their goods on rough wagons drawn by oxen.

It was long before the Aryan invasions, however, that the Neolithic men must have developed into the various modern races, including the Aryans. The most obvious division of these races is that of whites, yellows and blacks. The black races include the African negroes and the somewhat similar Pacific Islanders. The yellow races include the Mongolians of north Asia, the Turks, the historic Huns, the Chinese, the Japanese and the American In-

dians. The white races consist of the Aryans and the Semites. The former include the Hindus and the ancient Medes and Persians in Asia, and the Greeks, Italians, Celts, Teutons and Slavs and practically all the nations of Europe. The Semites seem to have originated in or near the deserts of Arabia and include the Arabs, the Hebrews and the ancient Phoenicians, Babylonians and Assyrians. The Biblical writers also noted the Hamitic race, in which we may include those men who established the earliest civilizations in Egypt and Mesopotamia. They were perhaps nearest the original Neolithic stock.

The surpassing fertility of those two favored countries was the source, then, of the first known civilization, and one from which we may trace, more or less directly, many of our modern arts and institutions. Here, probably some 8000 years or so ago, the people had stabilized themselves in the settled life of farmers, with cities for defense and trading and with organized central governments and an established priesthood. Their early monuments, recently so laboriously and richly deciphered, indicate consolidation into a national existence only after long suffering from petty interurban wars which gradually disappeared as this or that city king proved himself more powerful than his neighbors. The first civilized Mesopotamians were the Sumerians. They were not originally Semites, but apparently intermarried early with the surrounding nomads of that race. The Egyptian Hamites also mingled their blood from time to time during their long history with these Semitic tribes. Egypt and the Mesopotamian power, whether Assyria or Babylonia, were for at least several thousand years before the rise of Persia in the sixth century B. C., in the close contact of trade and occasional war.

Men in Mesopotamia and in Egypt very soon made notable progress in the art of architecture. The earlier

common Neolithic civilization gives evidence of superstitious regard for dead kings in the construction of vast funeral mounds of earthen and, later, partial stone construction, containing their carefully interred bodies, together with their favorite weapons, articles of adornment, and even foods. Thus was early indicated a vague belief in the continued existence at least of leaders in or beyond the grave. This is particularly noticeable among the Egyptians, where faith in a bodily resurrection was later shown by the scientific embalming of the dead. The most pretentious structures of that people, too, were the sepulchres of their kings. But the architectural development went of course much further. In Mesopotamia, chiefly with the brick taken from the local clays, and in Egypt with brick and stone, were erected not only great tombs and pyramids, but vast temples and palaces, whose ruins excite wonder to this day, and in which we are able to see the origin of our modern architectural forms. The most tremendous labor and high skill is shown moreover in the fortifications, some of the city walls being sixty feet or so in height and from thirty to forty feet in breadth.

Moreover these nations, particularly the Egyptians, had learned something of engineering. Both were adept in irrigation and the construction of canals, and the Egyptians, in anticipation of modern Suez, had built one adequate for their light boats between the Red Sea and the Nile. The progress of both countries in the manufacture of articles of use and luxury was no less marked. They made the finest linens and silks, bleached and dyed, produced exquisite pottery and porcelains, and cut and polished precious stones.

The nomad, Semitic tribes of Syria and Arabia, wandering about the boundaries of these busy nations, must have regarded their riches and glory with even greater awe than that with which the more sophisticated modern



rustic regards the marvels of urban life; but from time to time also with very much the same appetite as that with which the Teutons thousands of years later gazed upon the splendors of imperial Rome. Reverence and respect yield to the temptation of conquest and plunder. It was somewhere about 3000 B. C. that these Semites finally overcame the original Sumerian civilization, already perhaps fifty centuries old. They substituted their own rule, but, as generally happens in such cases, continued and improved the civilization which, in a sense, they had conquered, but which in the end conquered them. Henceforth the Semitic Assyrians and Babylonians were the master powers of this region, which they alternately ruled from the great capitals of Nineveh or Babylon, and whose commerce they developed in these and numerous other important cities. About them, in turn, wandered other unsettled Semites of the desert, seeing in the great buildings and temple towers the presumption of men who, to the former's simple minds, seemed to be attempting to pierce the firmament of heaven. Such, no doubt, was the origin of such tales as that of Babel.

In these countries and in these times originated many legends, including also other of those early stories of Genesis with which every child is now familiar. In the Mesopotamian cuneiform writings have been disclosed stories of the Garden of Eden and the serpent, the flood and the ark, and, though in a less noble form than in Genesis, that of creation. For that matter, the mythologies of nearly all the ancient nations have similar stories in which the attempt is made to explain the origin of things, and particularly of evil. It will suffice to mention here the familiar one told by the Greeks concerning the opening by the first woman, Pandora, against divine orders, of the box from which, by her disobedient act, escaped all the ills that afflict mankind. The Mesopotamian legends



are of great antiquity, some of them originating with the Sumerians and many of them probably antedating the cuneiform writings in which they were finally preserved.

Probably from the time of even a crude form of writing in Mesopotamia and Egypt, the development of their arts was rapid. Four thousand years ago, perhaps very much earlier, they must have attained a state of comfort and luxury comparable with that which obtained in Europe before the beginning of the modern industrial era in the eighteenth century. The necessities of the active trading that enlivened the then civilized world, bordering the eastern Mediterranean, had even developed, though in a crude form as compared with modern methods, the art of banking; and bills of exchange seem to have been in use among the merchants. Capitalism was probably as far advanced as in any age prior to that of present-day industrialism. The institution of private property first founded, in the primitive development from savagery, on the expediency of stimulating individual prudence and self-respect, justified itself in the development of a trade that added to the well-being of the entire community.

Property in lands had also finally appeared, but there the development from initial communism was not always so happy. When Neolithic men settled down to agriculture, we may reasonably opine that the first distribution was fair. As long as the land had not been cultivated or had been only sporadically cultivated, there was no occasion for private ownership, but when gradually permanent tillage was reached, it seems probable that ownership was normally settled, as with private property, in each case in favor of him whose labor had brought forth the yield. As, however, population pressed and trade development made of land also a saleable commodity, as men were brought more and more into hard competition, and as, in the course of national growth, kings and nobles and priests

struggled for power, and men began to groan under the burdens of taxation caused either by necessary wars or by the excesses of their rulers, the original equality was finally impaired. War, moreover, generally brought about a redistribution of the land in favor of the conquerors. Militancy as usual made of greedy captains lords of the soil, and ancient aristocracy no less than modern was often founded on landed estates.

Human nature is such that we are not entitled to picture equality at any historic or quasi-historic epoch. The differences of men in these ancient days were, as now, such as led naturally and justly, at least in time of peace, to leadership and superiority of power and possession often, if not always, in favor of those better qualified to have it. The task of statesmanship was then, as now, to temper selfishness from both ends of the social organism; on the one hand to curb the tyranny that unfortunately is often the outgrowth of even deserved authority, and, on the other, the savage greeds of the masses that from time to time threaten, beyond the point of wholesome amendment, the entire civilized structure. In these ancient times, however, when invention had not overstimulated population and when wars and the foreign slaves secured by wars frequently relieved local stress, such questions did not often reach their modern acuteness; and, in the field of personal property at least, the development was thus a natural and, in the main, a wholesome one.

Capitalism naturally drew its origin from the self-denial of prudence. While some consumed all they produced, others, with a vision for the future and at the expense of immediate enjoyment, saved for the evil day which it was easy for intelligence to foresee but more difficult for prudence to foil. When that day came, it was the man of savings who was able to sustain not only himself but also the waster, while the latter, just enough not

to claim for dissipation an equal share with husbandry, was content to exist as a wage worker in the other's employ. Capitalism thrived also, even in the ancient world, less developed industrially though it was than our own, when prudence combined with intelligence and courage to discover and reach the markets wherein could be exchanged the products and raw materials of one locality for those of others.

Commerce in its beginnings was much hampered for want of a medium of exchange. The earliest trade was by barter. Human inventiveness was challenged to devise such an improvement upon that method as might be the basis for large-scale transactions. Before that stage was reached, a trader could not always find someone who had just what he wanted or who was willing to accept in exchange just what he had, and, even if he could, he would be apt to find it difficult to arrange an exchange by reason of the frequent indivisibility of commodities. A man having a cow to exchange, unwilling to give it for the shoe-string he desired, would have to see the trade balked unless the other trader were fortunately able to find other articles desired by the first and sufficient for equalization. The metals, however, were objects of desire to men for ornament and other use; and combined the advantage of small-bulk value with facile divisibility. We find, therefore, in very early records evidence of the use of metals, particularly gold and silver, and for smaller transactions, copper, as a medium of exchange, at first by weight and later, by about the eighth century B. C., in the form of coins.

In Egypt or Mesopotamia, perhaps in both countries, the art of writing was invented by genius; and it was slowly developed and used in both countries by those whose intelligence marked them for leadership. It began with picture writing, such as that with which, in crude

form, we are familiar in the efforts to-day of savages and children to express simple thoughts by the delineation of concrete things. This, in the course of centuries, developed into syllabic writing. This is the form with which we amuse ourselves in the modern puzzle known as the rebus. The pictures are no longer signs of things, but of syllabic sounds that also mean things. For example, the picture of a man followed by that of a hood would signify "manhood." In the course of time the precise use of complete pictures for syllables and monosyllabic words was discarded in favor of conventional and simpler symbols. This method developed into the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt and the cuneiform or wedge-shaped writing of Mesopotamia, which were in use probably for several thousand years. Even syllabic writing, however, is most cumbersome, and it is manifest that extended correspondence and, still more, literary composition, not to speak of the abstractions of science and philosophy, must have been immensely hampered, conducted in writing of that kind. If the development had stopped at that stage, the ordinary processes of civilization would have been greatly retarded and the higher knowledge all but rendered impossible.

A very interesting illustration of this fact is afforded in the case of China. If picture writing appears prematurely, that is, before the language itself has lost its early monosyllabic character, the whole development of language, writing and thought is stunted. For the educated minds of the community, having once been furnished, at the cost of much labor, with a large array of word symbols, natural human conservatism, here as in other fields, inhibits the shedding of old in favor of radically new equipment and method. This happened in China so that to this day its language is largely monosyllabic and written in thousands of pictorial symbols which must be memorized by the educated. This is the work of a life-



time. One need only contrast such a condition with that of the two dozen or so of alphabetic characters to appreciate how the brightest Chinese minds are handicapped by the necessity of expending so much time in the acquisition of mere means of expression at the expense of substantive learning. For that reason philosophy and science cannot advance very far, and also because the large vocabulary they require is incapable of development where each new word adds to the impossible burden of an already overgrown symbolism. For philosophy and science require not only words for concrete things, but for the most subtle concepts. And then again, abstractions can hardly develop very far without the enormous assistance to memory and perpetuation afforded by their crystallization in written form. Not even syllabic writing is sufficient for this purpose.

The next development, perhaps the cleverest, certainly the most decisive in the course of human history, was the invention of the alphabet. The expression of syllables by written signs gave way to such expression for each of the surprisingly limited vocal sounds. Long familiarity with this as with other basic props of our civilization must not cause us to be blind to the brilliant ingenuity and patient persistence of our forbears in developing them through the course of many centuries. The Egyptians ultimately devised a kind of alphabet, but, just as in the case of China picture writing came too early, so here the alphabet came too late. It came after the long mastery and use of the ancient syllabic writing by the scribes had prejudiced them against innovation, just as to-day in America, for example, but slow progress is being made in the substitution of the infinitely superior metric system for the old ones.

Our modern alphabet we trace directly to the Phoenicians, who may have borrowed, and probably did, some



of its letters both from the hieroglyph developments in Egypt and the cuneiform in Mesopotamia. In their hands, however, we first note its real use, beginning probably at some period between 1500 B. C. and 1000 B. C., more likely nearer the later date. The Phoenicians were the great seamen and international merchants of antiquity. With them the primitive canoes of the Stone Ages, at first probably amounting to little more than hollowed logs, developed in the Mediterranean into large boats with several oar-tiers and with primitive sails for emergency use. The Mediterranean, which was encircled by all there was of ancient Occidental civilization, was a sea not given to frequent or violent storms and one which contained numerous islands of refuge. The oar, therefore, for the most part, sufficed, but the navigation of the Phoenicians and their colonial off-shoots, notably Carthage, boldly assayed even the open ocean, hugging always the shore, and reached as far as the coasts of Britain and the Baltic.

The Phoenicians found a great use for the alphabet in their over-sea commerce; and in that use it attained at the same time a wholesome development and an international extension. From them the Greeks acquired it, from the Greeks the Romans, and from the Romans the modern nations. For the purposes of literature alphabetic writing was not employed before the ninth century B. C. The Moabitish stone dates from that period. Probably at about that time, too, or a little later, were created in writings now extinct the origins of a good part of the Hebrew Scriptures as they now exist and as they were written or compiled from the fifth century B. C. on. It was also at about this period, perhaps in the eighth century B. C., that the possibility of so much that is beautiful and valuable in modern literature was created when the Greeks put many of their ancient legends into classic, written form in the noble Homeric epics. It was only some two

or three centuries later that they were approaching the apex of their exalted civilization and had begun the writing of their immortal philosophy.

The Egyptian civilization in one form or another lasted under domestic rule for some fifty centuries and then, with no real collapse, successively under the conquering Persians, Greeks and Romans for some thousand years more, and then, again in a not greatly changed course, under the Arabs for several hundred years, until the very memory of its ancient greatness was all but lost under the benumbing and devastating rule of the Turks. Similarly, the Mesopotamian region under Sumeria, then under the alternating leadership of Assyria and Babylonia, and then successively under the Persians, Greeks, Romans and Arabs enjoyed a fairly continuous civilization for some sixty centuries or more, until it also succumbed to the Turk, although in this case the continuity was more or less seriously disrupted by the more frequent wars and conquests. It must be some sixty centuries, instead of the forty which Napoleon dramatically mentioned to his troops, that the enormous pyramidal tombs of the Egyptian kings have looked down upon the teeming life of the Mediterranean.

Egypt and Mesopotamia were thus old civilizations when the history of the Greeks began. Gratitude for our own culture, derived almost directly from the splendid art and intellectualism of the latter, should not obscure for us the debt they owed to the preceding civilizations. They were in a close trading contact with Phoenicia, Egypt and Assyria, and were curious students of the hoary learning and philosophy of those countries. In fact they began their history by the conquest and absorption of a civilization probably closely related to the Egyptian. The invasion of Latins, Teutons, Celts and kindred Aryan peoples had been gradually overwhelming the Stone Age

men and the process was very likely far advanced if not completed by the time the Greeks, furthest south of all of them, had prevailed over what was probably a highly developed Neolithic culture at some period between 2000 and 1500 B. C. In some instances, notably that of Crete, whose wondrous ruins are even now startling our modern scholars, the conquest was not completed until about 1000 B. C. These wars caused important shifts in the Mediterranean populations. The Philistines of the Biblical narratives are believed to have settled in Canaan about this time as refugees from conquered Crete or from some other Aegean island or perhaps from Asia Minor. It is not improbable also that to the same uprooting is due the ancient Etruscan civilization of Italy.

After this great Aryan irruption the Mediterranean became the fairly settled and peaceful scene of the harmonious intercourse of many nations. The Egyptians and Mesopotamians, particularly the Babylonian Chaldaeans, had already laid many of the foundations of modern science and institutions. The stars, such as were visible to the naked eye, had been largely mapped and the periodic motions of the planets and of the sun and moon were thoroughly understood. Even without the modern Copernican knowledge, the astronomers of those days had been able to measure the year and the month, to divide the solar year into lunar months and the latter into weeks, to devise a calendar, and even to predict eclipses. The setting apart of a sabbatical day in Babylonia had already been accomplished. All the more basic tools and mechanical devices had been invented. Necessity is the mother of invention and the Egyptians driven by the need of fixing their farm boundaries, expunged by the annual inundations of the Nile, had already laid the basis of geometry. Time was measured by sun dials and other devices.

Most of the learning in these countries was in the

hands of the priests, and, after some development in the art of writing, in that of the scribes. The priests of those days were not merely the ministers of religious observance, but included the so-called wise men, the magicians, the physicians and often the royal advisors and administrators. In short, they were the cultivated and ruling class, the leading and trained intelligences to whom people and kings looked for guidance. There is considerable evidence to indicate that side by side with the national idolatry, which doubtless they encouraged, they cultivated esoteric systems of philosophy of a considerably higher order than the popular religions. Some of their philosophy undoubtedly, with the other learning of the times, reached the Greeks, who so vastly improved upon it. The priests also devoted time to the inculcation, if not to the scientific study, of morals, and perhaps reached that stage at which the principles of good conduct became the commands of divinity. At least we have in the Egyptian Book of the Dead intimation of divine judgment after death for sins substantially identical with those forbidden by the purely ethical parts of the ten commandments, as by the common early morality of all civilized nations.

The curse of ancient times, at least in modern eyes, was slavery; but even that was a great advance upon preceding conditions. In the earlier wars, the defeated were often exterminated. The substitution of slavery served at the same time to alleviate the pangs of conscience and to enable the love of mastery and ease to feed upon the deference and the toil of slaves. But it need not be supposed that the human heart was, at this stage of its development, so entirely devoid of sympathy that the average lot of the slaves was necessarily one of unmitigated torture.

Often of course among a first generation of captives there must have been anguish among the few more sensi-



tive and noble mentalities who, failing ransom, were reduced to an ignoble and menial subserviency or, in the case of the more handsome women, were consigned to the harems of strange masters. But probably the great masses, and particularly those born to the condition, were not much worse off, except in a less promising hope of change in condition, than the modern lower classes until the improvements of the last generation or two. And in the more advanced ancient nations we note measures from time to time intended to mitigate the severities of the system and ameliorate the condition and prospects of the victims. Judaea was not the only country which had, if it did not always enforce, such measures. Among all classes and at all periods the lot of the intellectual doomed to stifle aspiration beneath the whip of necessity is a tragic one, but fortunately not too frequent. We may take comfort in the reflection that the masses, whether the toiling slaves of law or necessity, have not in the main been as unhappy as their status might indicate. The hand of the taskmaster is not always heavy. Hope, at least, has always sprung eternal in the human breast. Leaders have always from time to time been found to point out the ways of alleviation, diversion, and even of intellectual gratification.

There were but two things really needed after the invention of the alphabet to have afforded men a promising chance for a continuous, civilizing development. Unfortunately both were long deferred; long, that is, from our too accustomed viewpoint of the individual span of life, rather than from that more proper one of a slow and patient, historic evolution in which the individual is nothing and the race everything. Those two things were a civilized power strong enough to resist the barbarian hordes on the outskirts of culture, and the art of printing. Unfortunately, civilization was geographically lim-



ited and had to endure from the outside many buffets and destructions before the modern, fairly settled world emerged. Several times the process has had to start anew. Just as in the beginning men needed weapons to survive the attacks of savage beasts, so now they needed superior weapons to survive the attacks of savage men. It was only in the late Middle Ages that the invention of gunpowder gave the more advanced nations that superiority in physical force which prevents collapse under the assaults of barbarism. There is still danger in the savage instincts yet alive in the hearts of the great majority of men within civilization, and also in the vast destructiveness of international wars which it has not yet learned how to render impossible.

The writing of ancient books by hand naturally limited the possessors and users of such intellectual luxuries to a few priests and a few of the wealthy and their specially trained slaves. Printing was the simple but ample device which finally freed the human mind and gave to all at least the chance of development. That, of course, did not come until the fifteenth century of our era and is another story.

But by the end of the times that we have been attempting roughly to outline, extending from about 6000 B. C. to about 500 B. C., one supremely great thing had been achieved, at least to the point of a promising fruition. As the historian surveys that vast period and reflects not only upon the more material advance of civilizing arts, but upon the even slower and more elusive expansion of the human intellect, he is struck, in the same way as in the case of physical evolution, by the laborious development of that expansion through the centuries, from hieroglyphs to alphabet, from alphabet to literature, and from literature to the attainment of the most abstract concepts. At the end of this period, probably for the first

time in human history in any large way, and particularly in the then ripening Greek civilization, things were about to yield to ideas. Early in the process, particulars were included in ever widening species identified, in each case, by the vocal name which combined the attributes. Then began the investigations and the reasoning upon which were based in ascending series the ideas of the attributes. Finally, with the tremendous impulse given to thought by writing, philosophers were for the first time able to attain, so to speak, the idea of the idea, and those highest metaphysical abstractions which seem to some profound thinkers the true realities. Thus again we see in the perpetual evolutionary process a development curving, if one may so express it, backward from the laboriously created physical things to those ideals which give meaning to projected appearances. It seems to be a process similar to that by which, on a vastly lower plane, the sculptor forces the stubborn marble to some expression of his dream, to him inadequate, but which is able in its turn, physical though it be, to inspire insubstantial visions in the minds of countless succeeding generations.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE HISTORY OF MEN FROM THE RISE OF GREEK CIVILIZATION UNTIL THE DOMINION OF ROME

**T**HE Greeks had probably concluded their conquest of the aboriginal peoples of the Hellenic mainland, of the Aegean Islands and of the coasts of Asia Minor by about 1000 B. C. The Phoenician alphabet was made completely their own within the next two or three centuries; and such was their native intelligence that they speedily bettered their Phoenician and Egyptian instructors in the pursuit of trade throughout the Mediterranean and in the foundation of colonies side by side with those of the Phoenicians. All Sicily and southern Italy, the southern coast of France, Spain, north Africa and Thrace even to the north shores of the Black Sea were studded with their settlements. Not only in colonization and in commerce, however, did the Greeks speedily equal and then surpass their teachers, but in the higher pursuits of the intellect. During the period between the seventh and the fourth centuries B. C., they had created an art, a literature and a philosophy which stand without parallel among the achievements of men and which became the direct inspiration of our modern performances in the same fields, while their science then and later was, beyond comparison, in advance of that of any other ancient nation.

For the first time in history, certainly in Occidental history, men had reached a state of civilized leisure and had developed an ability which rendered it possible for

them to inquire in a logical manner into the fundamentals of the universe. For the first time they had attained the courage and enlightenment to face their origin and their destiny squarely and apart from theological tradition. From about the fifth century B. C. on, among the more educated of the Greeks, as of their successors, the Romans, a little later, the ancient gods may be said to have been merely tolerated, while attention was concentrated upon the solution at once of the realities and the mysteries of the universe. But it is an illuminating commentary upon human ambition that the high thinking of philosophy in the main preceded rather than followed scientific investigation. The modern method, much saner, but at once inspired and assisted by a delicate instrumentation beyond ancient reach, insists upon the acquisition first of natural facts, from the solid foundations of which philosophy may be the better able to spread her pinions. Science, however, was by no means neglected by the Greeks. It developed from or sometimes side by side with philosophy.

Such was the power and subtlety of these ancient minds that there is probably no modern philosophic system which cannot find its origin or its counterpart in one of theirs. This is not to say that we have not bettered the ancient thought and, with our more advanced knowledge, been enabled to supply many missing links, but it is, nevertheless, the fact that most of our large modern generalizations have been originated or anticipated by the Greeks. While they knew nothing of Darwinian selection as Nature's method of evolution, the theory itself was one of their achievements. In the same way, while they had not the modern proofs, one of their most penetrating discernments was that of the atomic theory. Some of their thinkers even realized to some extent the present astro-nomic notions, so that largely by that method of deductive speculation which modern science disapproves, but which

their relative ignorance of facts rendered indispensable, they were able to reach some conception both of the vastness of stellar space and the minuteness of atomic structure. The basis of their philosophizing was entirely scientific. They wanted to know. They wanted to know beginnings. In the absence of facts, they gave imagination rein, and then diligently endeavored to find corroboration for the results of their keen speculations. Their curiosity was so piqued by the mystery of things and they penetrated so deeply in their efforts to solve it that they anticipated the moderns in finding its ultimate aspects inscrutable.

Their preference for philosophic generalization, then, did not prevent the Greeks from making advances in true science, enormous when considered in connection with their defective apparatus. We shall attempt presently a brief statement of some of their very solid achievements in this direction, which were completed in a somewhat later period. It will suffice here to mention that in the later fourth century B. C., Alexander the Great had hundreds of men, in the vast territories that he conquered, making zoological and botanical collections for the use of the scientist and philosopher, Aristotle. The latter realized the defects of the speculative method and the urgent need of a profound study of Nature, so that thence might be extracted the materials for those intelligent inductions which the speculative imagination could never sufficiently supply or, supplying, verify. Aristotle has probably had a greater influence upon intellectual development than any other man.

His epoch, the fourth century B. C., represents perhaps the end of the most brilliant period of the mental triumphs of his countrymen. Not only did they excel in philosophy, science and mathematics, but in the beauty and penetration of their works of history, poetry, comedy, tragedy,



painting and sculpture, in all of which they have supplied the noblest models for posterity. But we must be careful not to permit our admiration to exaggerate the enlightenment of these men. That admiration is based upon the beauty of their artistic form and the subtlety of its content, as well as upon the unquestioned power with which with profound originality they succeeded in extracting from Nature the fundamentals of science and the deep secret of eternal being and never-ceasing becoming. But this enlightenment was confined to a very few; and side by side with it, more even than to-day, there existed and often also mingled with its expression, the queerest old superstitions and polytheistic notions. Moreover, even the greatest philosophers could not resist in those days any more than in our own the temptation to erect, after reaching the bounds of the knowable or at least of the known, highly fanciful and speculative world systems.

About the time of probably the greatest intellectual activity among the Greeks, during the fifth century B. C., the Jews were resettling in their capital as recently permitted by the Persian king, and were about to attempt anew the fulfilment of their mission. Their priestly leaders were now completing the work of prophetism in convincing them that their grievous afflictions had been due to the neglect of their ancestral religion, as the glorious future now promised was dependent upon its strict observance. It is certainly one of the marvels of history that this little people, insignificant among the ancients, probably hardly known to the Greeks of this time, occupying an insignificant strip of country without even a seaport, already with a long history, which, according to every precedent, ought now to have been completed, should have developed from this time a conscious race solidarity so powerful that, even after their national existence was

finally destroyed some five centuries later and after their dispersion throughout the world had been accomplished, they have continuously endured and preserved their distinctiveness until the present era. The explanation doubtless lies to some extent in the sublimity and uniqueness of the monotheism which by this time they had developed, but more in the strength of the passionate conviction with which they adhered to their belief in their superiority as the chosen people of God. Such, however, is the heroic obstinacy of human nature that the tragedy of their almost constant persecution after the rise of Christianity could not have failed powerfully to contribute to that result.

In the resumé in previous chapters of the Biblical narratives the history of this people has perhaps been sufficiently outlined; but it may help, in the present setting, to add or repeat a few facts. While the Jews on their restoration must assuredly have reflected in many profitable ways the refining influences of the ancient civilization in the midst of which they had dwelt for more than half a century, the opinion of some that the purity of their monotheism dates from the Persian contact of this period is hardly sound. As already noted, there can be little doubt that many of the later, minor and by no means better features of Jewish theology evidence the Persian and Zoroastrian influence. The central monotheism scarcely suffered from this broadening experience. But that it was at least as pure and ancient as the Persian seems to be established both by the evidence of the records and the strength of the tradition.

When the Hebrew tribes first invaded the settled civilization of Canaan they seem to have adopted the culture and language, but not the gods, of the country. They remained, at least partially and variably, loyal to their own God, Jehovah. But never did they make or worship

an image of him, and never did their Holy of Holies contain other denizen than the sacred ark. It is true that Jehovah may not have always been their only God, but for a long time preceding the captivity, under the constant lashing of their prophetic leaders, they engaged in a constant struggle for his supremacy not only over immoral foreign gods, but also over their own serpent, calf and teraphim. The patriarchal and Egyptian traditions, too, must have had some germ of truth. Both Abraham and Moses stand out so clearly defined in the sacred narrative as to render it probable that these characteristic and vigorous personalities are not entirely mythical. Perhaps, as already intimated, the Egyptian leader was endeavoring to lift his barbaric desert tribes to the level of their ancient religion or his own. However this may be, and although he was far from succeeding, it is nevertheless reasonably clear that the gleam of a higher philosophy and of an ancient loyalty thenceforth fitfully illuminates a history which otherwise was little different from that of the contemporary superstitions, until the destruction of the nation finally succeeded in fanning it to a fiery glow that never thereafter was extinguished.

Bad as our modern wars have been, it is difficult for us to picture the situation of these little nations of antiquity persistently surrounded by menacing powers. The courage of their rebellion seems amazing in view of the penalties of failure. Recalcitrant citiès were often mercilessly put to the sword, and the best that a conquered people, noble and peasant alike, could look forward to in defeat was slavery, often preceded by torture and mutilation. Although the conquest of Judaea happened at a time when both the Babylonian and Assyrian powers, whether as a matter of policy or advancing humanity, had begun the more kindly policy of respectful transportation, the terrors of the times had been and still were sufficient to

arouse the people to a fierce determination to burn away forever those sins which they were persuaded were the cause of their agony. But, for the first time despairing of any natural, military success against the overwhelming odds that threatened them, their vision was of the divine creation of a Utopian era in which evil should disappear, warfare cease, and the whole earth be ruled from Jerusalem by Jehovah through his Messiah, under the star and sceptre of the glorious house of David.

Such Utopian dreams are not strange to history or peculiar to the Jews. They have been created among many peoples and in every age. Even at a time almost simultaneous with their Jewish creation, the visionary construction of a perfect state was a favorite pastime of the Greek philosophers. Plato and Aristotle each has put into writing his dream of this ideal. But the Jews made of this conception, born of human suffering, the long deferred fulfilment of God's promise of supremacy to his chosen people. With the establishment of the heavenly kingdom, they were thenceforth to rule a world in which suffering and even death should be no more.

This ideal was assisted by the events of the times. Not only Assyria and Babylonia, but also Egypt, Syria and the intervening country, in fact practically all existing civilized nations except the Greeks (always excluding China and India), had just been subjected to the Persian rule. What seems in its beginnings to have been a beneficent despotism was set up, under which, for more than a century, its varied subjects seem to have lived, for the most part, in peace and contentment. At the height of the flood of conquest, in the early part of the fifth century B. C., Persia made its powerful effort and epochal failure to complete the union of the civilized world by the conquest of the Greeks. That failure and the acquaintance developed among the Greeks a little later with Per-

sian degeneracy created, at first among their writers and then among their rulers, the same ambitious idea. It attained its fruition when Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, toward the end of the fourth century B. C., conquered the whole of Persia and its dependencies, together with the independent Greek states, and united the world under the beneficent influence of Greek culture.

From this time on, the Jews came to be regarded by the ancients as a rebellious and stubborn people. The chief reason seems to have been that, whatever the odds against them, they would never tolerate the slightest interference with the national religion. Tribute they would generally pay, the oppression of even the worst of the governors sent to rule over them they would often endure, but at the slightest menace of a compulsory foreign worship they flew to arms. This was incomprehensible to contemporary opinion. Particularly during these times of universal empire, the mingling of various peoples in the great metropolitan cities resulted in mutual acquaintance with each other's gods. These were soon recognized as really the same powers under different names. It became, therefore, the quite general practice of courtesy and of superstitious expectancy to respect and even worship foreign gods. Often there was even an international mingling of divinities in single cults. Religious intolerance was seldom displayed. The policy of the ruling powers was to protect each nation in its local customs; traditions and beliefs in so far as not repugnant to the central authority. Loyal worship under ancestral forms was not deemed inconsistent with a recognition of truth in other cults. But, as religious conviction weakened and the extent and complication of empire grew, it was from time to time deemed wise to introduce some central nexus that might bind together the different nationalities. This was found in the worship of the emperor or king.



It is not to be supposed that this worship was taken seriously, particularly among the cultivated; but the idea that royalty partakes of the nature of divinity is an old one which neither the vanity nor the power of despots could always ignore. Even in our own day emperors have existed who have felt themselves on very close terms indeed with Omnipotence. In fact, the required reverence of the imperial image or symbols was little more than political. But the great rebellions of the Jews, sufficiently incited by tyranny, found perhaps the determining stimulus in their exceptional repugnance to the stultification of their passionate convictions by an occasional worship which their contemporaries evidently regarded as only a formal adherence to the established order.

The dispersion of the Jews was not, however, by any means the result solely of these rebellions and the consequent annihilation of their nation. Even before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, many Hebrews seem to have settled in Egypt and in the great trading cities of other countries. At the time of the restoration under Cyrus, not all the Jews availed themselves of his generous policy, and there were probably more of the race outside of Palestine than within, while after the time of Alexander and the speedy development of the city of Alexandria, founded by him in Egypt, into the first city of the world, there were soon more Jews in it than in Jerusalem. The wars of the first and second centuries A. D. merely completed the process.

Alexander's power was brief. He died at the age of thirty-three. His vast empire was divided among his generals. But this did not mean that his great objective had failed. On the contrary, there probably has never been in history so complete a case of conquest as that of the Greek civilization over that of the unwieldy empire which he had annexed. His established, unifying policy was for

the most part diligently pursued by his successors. Greek cities were constructed everywhere, Greek scholars traveled and settled everywhere, and Greek speedily became the well-nigh universal language of commerce and learning. Even the Romans, who reached the stage of great events a century or so later, need not be excepted from this description; for they were Hellenized almost before their history started and became increasingly so after their conquest of the Greeks in the second century B. C.

The Romans accomplished much. They united almost the entire empire of Alexander with their own, having first, through their conquest of the Carthaginians, destroyed the last vestige of external and Semitic power; and then extended their rule and civilization to Spain, France, Britain and other barbaric countries of Celts and Teutons. They had indeed a literature of their own, but, excellent as it was, it followed Greek models. They built great roads from end to end of the Empire. They created and bequeathed to the modern world the highest development of a legal code known to the ancients. The language of culture in Italy and the regions to the west was Latin, but in the remainder of their domain it was Greek and continued such for the thousand years that the eastern or Byzantine division of the Empire survived, with its capital at Constantinople, after the destruction of that of the West in the fifth century of our era.

It was during the period of some six centuries following the death of Alexander and ending with the triumph of Christianity, that, under Roman as well as Greek rule, in the cities of the East, particularly Alexandria, Athens, Pergamum and Rhodes, but chiefly in Alexandria, the most notable scientific achievements of the ancient world were attained. In that city Ptolemy, the first real Greek king of Egypt, the general and the biographer of Alexander, and a man of high intelligence, imparted by his

protection and encouragement a great impulse to learning and science. He founded there the Museum, a university to which flocked scholars from the entire civilized world. In connection with this institution there was created and developed the greatest library of antiquity, said to have consisted of hundreds of thousands of books. It employed a large staff of scribes who were constantly copying and recopying manuscripts. During this era Euclid published his classic geometry, substantially the basis of that precise science until the present day; the mathematics of the conic sections was developed; optics was studied; and the rotundity of the earth was not only taught but measured. Its diameter and circumference were ascertained with a sufficient accuracy, in spite of the inferiority of the apparatus employed.

The distance of the moon was determined with substantial correctness, and even that of the sun to a degree which, while far from precise, was a very satisfactory improvement upon preceding notions, since that distance was established as in millions of miles. All this was accomplished by a logical conjunction of observations of the heavenly bodies from different earthly points with the propositions of Euclidian geometry. Some even anticipated the discovery that the earth revolves about the sun, and that the daily, apparent motion of sun, moon, stars and planets about the earth is the illusory result of its axial rotation. Unfortunately, however, this conception was not shared by the astronomer Ptolemy who lived in the second century A. D.; and his great and deserved reputation sufficed to bury it until after the revival of Greek learning in the sixteenth century, when the truth was finally realized. Some thinkers entertained it in the meantime, however, among the Arab and Jewish scholars who succeeded to and developed the Greek learning under the Moslem rule in Spain during the Middle Ages.

Ptolemy devised the astronomical system which, under the authority of his great name, was generally accepted for many centuries. That system was adopted by him from his Greek, Egyptian and Chaldaean predecessors, but with an added supposition of his own with which to account for the apparent motions of the sun, moon and planets other than their diurnal one. That supposition was an epicyclical movement of each of these bodies about a point in the crystalline surface which daily rotated about the earth. The prevailing view, therefore, of ancient science still allocated to the earth a central and commanding position in the universe, even if the old ideas of the relative nearness and smallness of the heavenly bodies were of necessity exploded with the use of a true mathematics.

Medicine was energetically cultivated, and, for the first time, in a thoroughly scientific manner. The dead were dissected and the ancient doctors went so far as to dissect the living bodies not only of beasts, but even of condemned criminals. Already at the very dawn of civilization, thousands of years before, had been developed the basic mechanical tools and appliances, such as the pulley, the screw and the lever, but now men like Archimedes, of the Greek city of Syracuse, who had studied at Alexandria, established the elements of mechanical engineering and many of the principles of physics. That great man made profound investigations in hydrostatics, specific gravity and the theory of the lever. In these times too were perfected grim engines for war and siege, which in one form or another had existed for many centuries. There is even noted the invention of a water-dripping clock and of a doubtless primitive form of steam-engine.

It was early during this epoch, in the third century B. C., that the love of learning of the Greeks inspired the monumental translation into their language by Hebrew scholars of the latter's Scriptures. It is said that these scholars



numbered more than seventy, from which is derived the well known name of this version, the Septuagint. It is a rather free translation and is still used by the Greek church. Hebrew was rapidly becoming a dead language and probably by the time of Christ had been entirely supplanted in general use by the Aramaic dialect. The Greek New Testament thus became a unity with the Septuagint Old Testament. In fact, the numerous New Testament quotations from the Old Testament are from the Septuagint. The Roman church has always used the Vulgate, which is a Latin and somewhat faulty translation of the fourth century A. D., not entirely from original sources.

In this era too there were not a few philosophers, Roman as well as Greek, not unworthy of their great predecessors. We mention only Philo, a Jew, who lived in Alexandria in the time of Jesus, and Plotinus, who lived some two centuries later, both followers of Plato, because in their so-called neo-Platonic thought the noble and spiritual philosophy of their master had somewhat degenerated into one of mysticism and ecstasy, which had its influence in the radical Greek modifications of early Christianity. This is not the place for the interesting study of that influence; but it is curious to note that the new philosophy which despised Christianity as a cheap infusion of Hebrew myths into a noble Platonism ended by itself becoming an important element in the transmutation of those myths into a subtle theology. This philosophy began that work with Philo's idea of the Logos, early seized, as we have seen, by the theologians to make for their human founder a more persuasive position as the incarnate Son and a person of the Trinity; and it ended, after persecution at the hands of the growing Church, by giving some of the latter's greatest fathers, notably Augustine, the materials for their most mystic conceptions.



Such was the great activity of the Greek intellect of this period that it can scarcely be doubted that under favoring circumstances progress would have been continuous and the modern triumph of science much earlier realized. It is usual to attribute the contrary event to the destruction of the Roman Empire by Teutonic barbarism and the consequent extinction of learning and almost of civilization itself during the black period of the Middle Ages that followed. But this is not the whole truth. Science had already been destroyed before that invasion by the spread of Christianity. That was at once the religion of the poor and oppressed and of the ignorant. These in its early days constituted almost exclusively the membership of the fast growing Church. But the distrust of secular learning and enlightenment by such a body became a fatal and bigoted hatred by virtue of the fact that the unimpeachable authority of the new religion was a divinely inspired book supposed to contain between its covers all that was necessary for human salvation. Later we shall examine briefly the history and the causes of the wonderful spread of this religion. The way was paved by the universal dominion of Rome at the moment of its foundation.

That great empire developed from the ancient virtues, courage and enterprise of a single Italian city. At about the time that alphabetic writing was about coming into general use, that is, during the eighth century B. C., this urban community first developed among the Latin farmers along the banks of the Tiber. Its people and the other Italians, except the Etruscans, were Aryans closely related to the Greeks. Like so many of their ancient contemporaries, they traced their origin to the gods. They also have a tale of a virgin birth. Romulus and Remus, their legendary founders, were the sons of a vestal virgin, their father being Mars, the god of war. Their mortal

ancestors, the legends suppose to have been refugees from the city of Troy at the time of its destruction by the Greeks. Almost from the beginning the city of Rome had a close contact with the Greek cities of southern Italy and with the Etruscans of the north, who, for a time, ruled it. These Etruscans, as above noted, represented a much more ancient Aegean civilization. At this time they used the Greek alphabet and had a considerable development in an art and architecture which exhibit a close connection between them and the Egyptians and early Greeks. Later they were conquered by their war-like Roman subjects, who soon succeeded in uniting nearly all Italy under their intelligent dominion. In their early history, at least, they followed the policy of incorporating with themselves as Roman citizens those whom they conquered.

After driving out their kings, the Romans developed a kind of aristocratic republic. This, like most ancient and some modern democracies, was one more in name than in fact. It had no method of representation and it was impossible for all the citizens, or, in fact, as the Empire grew, for more than the city riffraff, actually to vote. Those who could cast their ballots were generally subject to the machinations of the patrician class. Such an aristocratic preponderance of necessity led to gross abuses, perhaps not so pernicious, however, as those which, on the other hand, grew from the sporadic revolutionary attempts to revert to the supposed virtues of an extreme democracy.

The early history of Rome may well be studied, but not here, for lessons in those happy balances that must be struck, in the intelligent construction of a state, between the perhaps curable abuses of a patrician leadership and the hopeless ruin of plebeian power. Rome learned how by chicanery to destroy the effect of a base referendum,

but it was reserved for the British in our own era to devise the considerable improvement of popular representation. General education may improve the chances, under this system, of the selection of the wisest and best to represent the electorate, but the experience of Rome and many ancient states ought, even during a period of failure in this desideratum, to suffice to point the great danger of an extreme democracy encouraged by a demagogism which, refusing to lead, holds its ear constantly to the ground. Rome generally led her masses, without neglecting to give them occasional opportunity, sometimes wisely and sometimes dangerously, to register their growling views. Political progress has generally been, except under absolute despotism, the result of the conflicts, the compromises and the victories of contending leaders of the people, who may imagine that they rule while they are merely led. And the unhappiest eras have been those in which for the moment Caliban has become uncontrolled.

The Romans paved the way to their world dominion by the Punic wars which extended from about the middle of the third century to about the middle of the second century B. C., and which left Carthage destroyed and Rome the mistress of the Mediterranean and the ruler of all Italy, Greece, Spain and north Africa, except Egypt. By the time of Christ, her rule had been extended to include that ancient country, and also Asia Minor, Syria, and even some of the savage countries lying to the north, such as Thrace, Dacia, France and part of Britain. Thus was realized, more fully than at any other time, the great idea of universal dominion and peace. Whatever else may be said of the merits and defects of Roman rule, it must be recognized that for more than four centuries, apart from warfare with the barbarians on its boundaries and a few rebellions of, relatively speaking, minor import,

the Roman Empire was at peace, free to follow to the best of its abilities the pursuit of science and civilization.

But it was at the moment of the outset of this condition, less than seventy-five years after the death of Julius Caesar, the centralizer if not the Alexander of the imperial movement, that Jesus of Nazareth began his teachings. Certainly no one of his time, even if they had been familiar with them, could have prophesied that the simple propaganda of this wandering, carpenter-preacher would succeed ultimately in revolutionizing the world. But henceforth Christianity is to take the fullest advantage of the Roman solidarity of the next four centuries and to consolidate the Occidental world in a new unity that was to survive the Empire.

But when this new influence was ready to assume control, the ancient civilization fell. The evolutionary process was interrupted by the influx of new varieties of men who were to start it again from a vastly anterior stage. By a curious fortuity of circumstances the Christian superstition united with a virile but barbaric invasion to make a new world, which was not ready to absorb and continue the culture of the old for a thousand years. How much further that old world would have progressed we cannot tell. But at least we are able to see that, under splendid leaders, too few indeed as compared with the millions of common men whom they have had to guide and inspire, it had made notable progress. Only too often those leaders had been guilty of error and abuse, but in the main their efforts had been generously calculated to organize the masses into some sort of a safe society, to devise the means for their physical comfort, to divert them with amusements which, if not always wholesome, promised improvement, and finally to entrance their minds with the noblest models of literature and art. They had devised laws sanc-

tioned by a stable authority to enforce those customs which had been developed by experience as necessary to gregarious well-being. They had invented mechanical appliances which extracted from Nature some measure of comfort and luxury. Nor had they neglected to give life a delight and a color. The people were entertained by theatre, circus and pageant, music and dancing imparted joy then as now, and the writings of poets and philosophers were calculated to give the intellect at once a delightful recreation and a fruitful stimulus. If wealth was concentrated and power abused, if millions were limited by the shackles of slavery or fretted by the pains of necessary toil and sometimes by those of gratuitous oppression, that is only to say that men in those days, as in these, still had much to learn, and that the common fields lay fallow for such a comfort-promising seed as that of primitive Christianity.



### CHAPTER XIII

## THE HISTORY OF MEN FROM THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY UNTIL THE END OF THE DARK AGES

NONE of the books of the New Testament other than some of the Epistles is contemporary with the events it describes. Whatever the earliness of their original composition or sources, they certainly did not reach their present canonical form for several centuries after the time of those events. And during the process the contentions of sects and the pride of opinion and authorship led to emendations and interpolations that render it difficult to discover the pure Christianity taught by its original founder. Critical scholarship finds it reasonable to believe that the doctrines of the incarnation, the atonement and the Trinity were unknown to him; and that his message was probably but that of an enlarged and reformed Judaism, confined to brotherly love under the fatherhood of God, the need of repentance and of a virtue free from hypocritical legalism, and the speedy establishment on earth of the heavenly kingdom.

Mingled though the last named doctrine is in the Scriptures with its later spiritual form, born of disappointed expectation, the frequent and clear repetition of the imminency of the kingdom and of the urgency of preparation for entry under its holy rule, together with the ethics, already discussed, of non-resistance and improvidence, render the early literalness of the doctrine much more than merely probable. The gentle preacher evidently did

not see clearly how and when his dream was to be fulfilled, but finally under the urge of his disciples or of his own consistency he went to Jerusalem and began to assert the authority of the new teachings. The poor young man was probably filled with an absolute faith in the realization of his beautiful visions of peace and love. He had had little or no contact with the realities of life, the responsibilities and fears of rulers and the jealousy of empire. He probably counted upon the people to support him in his controversy with the selfishness and orthodoxy of the priesthood and did not calculate upon the latter's powerful complaint to the Roman governor concerning his unsettling preachment of a ruling Messiah. Startling and shocking to him and his devoted following must have been the final disillusionment of his arrest and tragic death.

It is also reasonably clear that Jesus of Nazareth did not assert himself to be divine unless in some mystic sense in which all men may be said to be so, and that he did not assert any such doctrine as the union of God in three persons. Even in an orthodox age, in the sixteenth century, A. D., reviving scholarship was able to point out the interpolation of crucial Scriptural passages containing these mysterious doctrines. Certainly the man who on the cross so bitterly and pathetically demanded of God why he had been forsaken, was, at least in the last moments of his disillusionment, making no claim to divinity. This is the tragic picture of a man who had beautifully and selflessly preached his noblest thoughts with full faith in the support of his heavenly Father and who, like so many others, believed at the end that his faith had been misplaced and that he had lived, worked, and suffered in vain. But in this case it was that melancholy end itself which surprisingly was made the foundation of an elaborate theology which was to conquer the world, and which,

in the pride and pomp of ecclesiastic power and in a Phariseism more objectionable than that which he had so fervently denounced, was still to preserve his name and sometimes and doubtfully the pure and simple doctrines for which he had lived and died.

For what followed on his death? The masses of the ancient world, among whom alone the new religion could first be spread, were not prepared to accept a purely spiritual monotheism, however beautiful the ethics which accompanied it. Nor was it easy for them to understand a disgraceful death upon the cross of one either divine or divinely supported. But, under the skillful and no doubt convinced imaginations of Paul and others learned in Greek subtlety and addicts of ancient religious mysteries, the undoubted crucifixion and the resurrection born of the superstitious devotion of the faithful Magdalene and the despairing receptivity of the apostles became the triumph of Divinity over death and the vicarious sacrifice or atonement to a cruel God for the otherwise irremediable sins of men. The new Platonism too, as we have seen, was creating for religion the ecstasy of union with the Absolute One and the possibility of contact with that Ineffable Being through the mediative Logos.

At this period the world, which had lost its faith in the old gods, was not only attempting, in the higher circles, the feat of philosophic friendship with Omnipotence, but, among the vulgar, was seething with new religious cults, the product of a mixture of the ancient mythologies and religions as they came into contact in the metropolitan cities. Mithraism and Gnosticism were wide-spread mystery cults which included in their beliefs and ceremonies the picture of a god passing through the form of a bloody, sacrificial death only to be resurrected into eternal life. It was no new thing for men to vision the washing away of their sins in the blood of the divine lamb. Similar

notions we glimpse, through the ancient literatures, in certain savage superstitions of the common people, which flourished side by side with the national worship and which were no doubt survivals from their Neolithic ancestors. These were the celebrated Mysteries compounded of elements not only from the Greek but from the Persian and all the superstitions of the East, and cultivated by fanatic devotees throughout the Greek world and particularly in Antioch and other cities of Asia Minor, including Tarsus, where Paul was reared. The trinitarian idea was not foreign to them.

Egypt particularly insisted strongly upon this Christian dogma. Several of her gods and even foreign ones had, according to the common practice, been identified here as different manifestations of the same divinity. The Osiris and Apis worships had been consolidated into that of Serapis and the Serapeum had become the seat of worship of the ancient gods Osiris, Isis and their son Horus, a trinity embracing the masculine, feminine and procreative principles of a single godhead.

As soon as early Christianity had developed in a few centuries a substantial following, the primitive simplicity of its worship naturally gave place to the fierce contentions of differing sects. The most violent centered upon these questions of incarnation and trinitarianism. Excited bands of ignorant churchmen and their followers resorted to violence and bloodshed by reason of the insistence of each party upon the belief of all in its own particular dogma. The fierce clergy of Egypt were particularly insistent upon the trinitarian doctrine in the form of the worship of the Father and his Son and the jewelled Holy Mother of God seated in robes of gold at the side of his great white throne. The Arians in one form or another denied Christ's equal divinity with God, and the Nestorians, who comprised a sect noted for their learning in

Greek philosophy as well as in the Christian and Hebrew writings, violently assailed the worship of a mother of God. By their contacts a few centuries later in Syria with Mohammed, the Nestorians exercised quite an influence in the establishment of his great monotheistic religion.

In the Christian church Egypt prevailed, and the trinitarian doctrine was once and for all grafted upon the pure Christianity of the earlier period. The three-fold Godhead represented a compromise with paganism, taking from it the father-mother-son worship, which was a feature not only of the Egyptian but of other eastern cults, and substituting, in the Scriptures at least, for the mother, the Holy Ghost, which, according to some scholars, was originally conceived as a female power. The acceptability to the masses of the triune God became the greater as their ancient idols were replaced by images of the Mother and the Son. The Holy Ghost, as part of the Trinity, was sometimes all but forgotten, finding a welcome substitution or restoration in the original Mother god; though the ancient division between the Roman and the Greek church, apart from the crucial difference as to the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, lay in the fact, to them evidently of vital importance, that the Greek creed stated the Holy Ghost to be an emanation from the Father, the Roman, from the Father and the Son.

Thus did men begin to debate, torture and slay through disagreement as to matters of which in the nature of things they could know nothing. The cruelties for which religious controversy became now, for the first time in history, increasingly responsible, were really the product of brotherly love. For, when a religion believes itself to be a supernatural revelation about unknowable things, including eternal damnation for lack of faith, we must naturally suppose that its correct devotees will go unselfishly to any length to save their misguided or susceptible brethren



from so dire a penalty for error, adding to the tragic lot of those lost hopelessly in the eternal hereafter the pangs of a tortured death in the evanescent present, in order to prevent at once the contamination of the opinions and the destruction of the heavenly bliss of others.

It would seem that one of the least important doctrines of the church should be that of the virgin birth. This is apparently not the fact, if we are to judge by the fierceness with which its denial today is received by the Fundamentalists. Nevertheless, it is in no way vital to the logic of Christianity, if we may speak of logic in connection with revelation. It is but a picturesque addition to the Christian legend and theology, and by no means an original one. Antiquity was full of such stories of the birth of its great men. Their splendor demanded not only purity of origin but divine paternity. Gautama Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, is said to have been born of a virgin and, as in the case of Jesus, amid celestial appearances. Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome, was, as already noted, the fabled son of a virgin and the god Mars; while other great men of even a more historic period were similarly credited with a partial divinity, of whom we need only mention Plato and Alexander. But the early fathers of the church found this story not only congenial to the doctrine of original sin but the creator of a glorious halo for the ineffable purity of the divine Mother, whose beautiful image, among large sections of the people and from time to time, became almost the exclusive object of an idolatrous worship.

The new religion thus was well supplied with a pagan picturesqueness when it set out to conquer the world. The contempt of the learned for the ancient gods had gradually reached the people. Human weakness, however, is always in need of divine support; and the new creed, if it was free from the disadvantage of an improbable and

conflicting multitude of divinities, supplied for the simple mind of adoration a God who combined at once the high concepts of the philosophers and the ornate concretions of the vulgar. But it was not these things alone which brought about the rapid spread of Christianity. The ripeness of the times, the ease of propaganda in the unified Empire and the vivid imagery of the religion of the Cross were greatly favoring circumstances, but more important were the homely virtues which it preached and its happy promise to the oppressed and suffering of immortal bliss in the kingdom of heaven. Most important of all, when this promise did not prove conclusive with the hard-driven masses, hopeless though they were of present relief, the determining consideration in their conversion must have been the prudent and fear-driven choice of the safe side in not rejecting a religion which threatened and dreadfully pictured excruciating and eternal tortures for non-believers. Rome had not learned, any more than other absolute despotisms, to render her rule inexpensive and her satraps unrapacious. The poor were quite ready to take a fair chance of future and perpetual bliss, or at least of escape from a fate which would add everlasting to present misery. And in this choice their tenderest feelings were engaged at the pathetic spectacle of a God who had condescended to share the pains of life to alleviate for them the terrors of death.

Christianity, then, made its progress in the Roman world, as also among the surrounding barbarians, with these new dogmas well absorbed into its original Judaism. Whatever may be the Modernism of some of its present preachers, those dogmas remain with it still. Every Christian creed, unless Unitarianism be properly termed such, still insists upon the divinity of Christ, his sacrificial redemption of some men, the trinitarian nature of God and the punishment of sinners hereafter. It is surprising that

these tenets have had the vitality to survive in such an age as this, but the truth is that among the intellectuals they are all but dead. Christianity has lasted now some nineteen hundred years, but it shows a lack of historic perspective to argue such an antiquity in favor of truth. Men, like mother Nature, change slowly. The worship of Baal or Osiris probably lasted twice as long and even longer, and the duration of the worship of almost any ancient and now defunct god, Moloch or Chemosh or even Zeus, will compare favorably with that of Jesus. Few indeed must be the number of historical students who would venture to predict its prolongation for many more centuries. The question is how soon leaders in the church will have the courage to deal this out-worn theology its death blow. It can only endure among the masses so long as their leadership permits it.

The union of the civilized world under the Roman power lasted some five centuries, and by the time that its destruction was at hand under the repeated blows of the Teutons to the north, Christianity had become well-nigh universal within its boundaries and had extended also to a large extent among the conquering barbarians. The cultivation of the arts, letters and the sciences had continued until, almost simultaneously with the Empire's fall, the Christian movement had become predominant. Then followed the natural doom of secular culture under a religion which believed its sacred books to contain all the learning needed by men. The great library of Alexandria was dispersed, towards the close of the fourth century, by the local bishop with imperial support, as a climax to the constant petty warfare between the Christians and non-Christians of the city, during which its philosophical schools were closed. Later, the same fate overtook the Athenian Lyceum and Academy and the Greek schools

everywhere by Christian procurement. Thus science died, a victim to a church which has always distrusted its growth.

Whether in the absence of ecclesiastic discouragement and in spite of the Nordic conquest, European intellectualism would have asserted itself and the triumphs of modern science been realized in an earlier age without waiting a thousand years for the revival of elementary culture, is a speculation useless in view of the event. The fact is that during the greater portion of that vast period, not only was the noble development of the ancients frustrated, but Christian Europe lay for the most part at a level of ignorance unknown in history since the time that the primeval savagery had developed into the first civilizations that we know.

The invaders were probably considerably less numerous than the population of those parts of the Empire which they successfully conquered. However that may be, when the conquest, which began in the early fifth century, was in a general sense complete some hundred years or more later, we find victors and vanquished living together under various governments in the different countries, which gradually became the kingdoms of modern Europe. The ancient provinces which correspond to the modern Spain, France and England had been subject to the Romanizing influence for centuries; and the dialects that now developed there and in Italy, the later Spanish, French, English and Italian, indicate to some extent, in the greater or less predominance of the Latin foundation, the nature and degree of the coalescence of the races and their institutions. The latter were often preserved in their old form, since the barbarian conquerors always evinced for them the greatest respect. In fact, there might have been a much more speedy assimilation of the victors by the con-

quered civilization, had it not been that, for the first time in history in similar cases, that result was impeded by ecclesiastic enmity to pagan learning.

But, whatever the discouragement of lay education, the Church itself was not totally ignorant. The remnants of literary culture were in its hands. One of the greatest instruments of its power was the Latin tongue, which, while the local dialects served the masses, became in its hands an international bond of ecclesiastic union. It was the language of the Church in all western countries and of the governing powers generally. Greek learning practically disappeared from Europe except as represented in a few garbled Latin versions of Aristotle, and except in so far as later it was slowly and partially restored, as we shall see, through the culture of the Arabs and the Jews in the south. The church Latin gradually deteriorated into the barbaric mediaeval form, but its necessary study preserved in the monasteries many of the Roman classics and some Latin translations of the Greek. Reading and writing were practically a monopoly of the church and, in the early centuries of this period, few among the laity, even of the aristocratic classes, had the ambition to seek their acquisition from the clerics.

In the midst and in spite of the numerous political struggles and wars between the various kingdoms and dukedoms set up in the conquered territory, and largely as the result of ecclesiastic effort, the ancient tradition of the holy Roman Empire never entirely died. The unifying idea of Xerxes, the Persian, of Alexander, the Greek, and his literary progenitors, Herodotus, Isocrates and others, of Caesarism and of Prophetism persisted; and this persistence was assiduously cultivated by a new power that now arose and again attempted such a unification for the peace and happiness of the world. This was the Roman Pope, who, from the early centuries of this era, appro-



priated and clung to the centralizing religious function which the emperors had arrogated and cherished in the office of Pontifex Maximus.

The Popes were originally only metropolitan bishops. In the western world, however, they found no rivals to dispute their authority inasmuch as Rome stood peerless among its cities and the Roman church had been foremost in its conversion and clerical organization. Their pretensions, however, were violently disputed in the East where not only Constantinople, but half a dozen other great cities, each with its archbishop or patriarch, fiercely refused to acknowledge their supremacy. With absolute dominance in the western world and continually struggling for it in the eastern, the Popes, almost from the beginning, and certainly from the time of Gregory the Great in the sixth century, took unto themselves the ancient, Israelitish prophetic quality and claimed the world as the kingdom of God, whose representatives on earth they were.

Thus, when opportunity offered, and in the closing days of the eighth century, a Pope assumed to crown as the Holy Roman Emperor, Charlemagne, who had brought within his sway Germany, France and Italy. In fact, the political history of the Middle Ages for several centuries thereafter is largely a struggle between the German Emperors and the Popes, the former claiming to crown themselves, and the latter, that no one could rule except by their anointment. They claimed not only the right to appoint, but the right to depose. How great their pretensions were is evinced in the famous abasement at Canossa of a proud emperor before the arrogance of the still more haughty Hildebrand. But whatever, theoretically, was the submission of Christian kings and peoples to the papal viceroy of God, it never displaced the ordinary policies of mundane self-interest. The Holy Roman Empire never become much more than a fiction that did not interfere in

the slightest with the continued separation and wars of the contending European powers. Kings indeed trembled before papal bulls, but there was always a point at which religious fears yielded to worldly selfishness.

The papal power was nevertheless very great. It was based on the most powerful of those imaginations with which men deliberately incapacitate themselves. It was based on the religious superstition of the masses and sometimes even of the kings themselves. In all the panoply of their worldly power they dreaded excommunication as they dreaded hell fire. Stubborn and haughty indeed must have been the king who, even if himself free from superstition, dared to defy these fulminations in view of their effect on the common people, who shuddered with aversion at any challenge of the power which controlled the gates of heaven and of hell. One such indeed was found, but not before the thirteenth century,—the Emperor Frederick II, who, well versed in Greek culture by his Sicilian contact with the Arabian learning, treated with contemptuous indifference the repeated excommunications of his papal enemies, and who, far ahead of his time, denounced the corruption of the clergy and threatened the confiscation of their wealth.

The Constantinople patriarchate and the other eastern sees never yielded to the papal claims. Originally they constituted jointly, and perhaps several of them individually, much more powerful divisions of the Church than those of the West. But in the course of history their opposition became futile as their strength declined or totally disappeared with the Moslem invasions that overran the eastern Empire until its final destruction by the Turks in 1453. True, it lasted a thousand years longer than the western Empire, but with varying fortunes and changing jurisdictions. At first it ruled over Thrace, modern Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria, and even at times

large parts of Italy and other territories of the original imperial jurisdiction, but only for a short time. By the seventh century, the Arabs had wrested from it Egypt and all the Asiatic provinces except Asia Minor and before that time it had lost, generally speaking, all dominion over Italy. Its territories continued to dwindle and, after the supremacy of the Turks in the Moslem world in the eleventh century, became so circumscribed that, at the time of its final conquest, there was practically nothing left except the capital city. In the course of these centuries, its lost subjects had in large part become converted to Mohammedanism and all originality in art and science had died, though, to be sure, its expiring power was illuminated to the last by the labors of scholars who, if they could not themselves create, could at least save for posterity the ancient masterpieces. The Byzantine church survived in the modern Greek church of Russia. The civilization of the ancients shifted permanently to the West.

Christianity under the Popes became or continued to be strongly ascetic. Fleshly pleasure was vigorously denounced. The highest ideals of the pious found expression in the praise and practice of celibacy; and by the eleventh century, under the rule of Hildebrand, that voluntary practice had become compulsory with the clergy. Never in the pagan world had the people been so sunk in superstition as were those of mediaeval Europe. To the modern reader the story of the beliefs and worship of this period would be incredible if not so indubitably attested by historic records. Almost every village had its shrine where miracles of all kinds were supposed to be performed, generally under the influence of the bones or other relics of some departed saint.

That holy condition was attained only by the most astounding asceticism. The manner in which these men tortured their bodies and destroyed their lives, denying them-

selves every form of sensuous happiness, in order to earn for themselves the blessings of immortal life and for their survivors the glory and the worship of their sainthood, is an illuminating commentary, not only on the ignorance of the times, but on the strength of the human mind in pursuit of an ideal, however erroneous. The ancient polytheism was fully restored. Images of the crucified God, of his virgin Mother and of great numbers of saints were everywhere set up and idolized. Miraculously preserved pieces of the true cross, genuine milk of the Holy Virgin, crucifixes that shed tears of blood, and many other amazing relics shared this adoration. Horrible pictures of the flames of hell and their attendant demons drew from the people their hard-earned money to purchase the prayers of the all-devouring priests. If a man was known to be continually poring over books, or if a woman combined senility with wrinkles, they were witches in league with the Devil, who rode their broom sticks at night, and for whom burning at the stake was the fitting punishment.

We must not, however, conceive of this age as a total blank in the history of civilization. Except when ecclesiastic policy was corrupted by jealousy or fear, the noble ethics of Christianity exerted its influence. The people were not only terrorized by the pains of hell into a becoming subserviency, but they were inspired also with the virtues of domesticity and industry. Charity and almsgiving were at once inculcated and practiced by the clergy, while the oppressions of rulers were at times mitigated by their interference.

During the period of the coalescence of the races, disorder had been rampant and law had all but disappeared. The military chieftains had become the landed aristocracy of the new states. Their internecine feuds were frequent and bloody. No man's life or property was safe from the constant depredations of the numerous robber barons.



Under these conditions, assisted by the nature of the military organization, the feudal system developed, whereby a certain measure of settlement and safety finally obtained. Individuals were subjected to masters from whom, in return for fealty and service, military and other, they received protection. This system was progressive, extending from the feudal union of the lower classes under petty nobles to a like relationship of these nobles to those still higher, and thence upward in an ascending series to a more or less loose feudal loyalty of the highest nobles to the king. At the base of this structure were the serfs who led a miserable existence, practically as slaves chained to the soil.

Slavery in its old form had persisted as an institution from the Roman times, but largely by reason of the beneficent work of the church it slowly died out. The enslavement of war captives was gradually done away with and manumission became frequent, sometimes from piety and sometimes from a policy which developed as hired labor became increasingly more profitable than slave labor. By the eleventh century, slavery had quite generally disappeared from Europe, except in the form of serfdom. The worst features of that system were gradually ameliorated. In Russia it lasted until our own times, while as the result of the French Revolution, toward the end of the eighteenth century, the last vestige of feudal service was gradually abolished not only in France but throughout western Europe.

Conditions of life in the mediaeval period were not conducive to health. Hygiene was unknown and the habits of the people were filthy in the extreme. It is not surprising, therefore, that high and low alike were subject with tragic frequency to dreadful epidemics. In the fourteenth century, the worst of all these plagues, that known as the Black Death, spread over Europe, and, it is generally



estimated, carried away at least one quarter of the population.

The economic disturbance of such visitations so increased the general misery of the lower classes that from time to time, particularly in the fourteenth century, cruel and bloody insurrections broke out, which, however, were invariably put down with a heavy hand. The common man was given little consideration. All Europe, while at first under the rule largely of independent dukes and princelings, was, except in some portions, such as Germany and Italy, gradually consolidated under absolute monarchs; and in those countries where the monarch did not attain supremacy over the fractious nobles, their petty and more needy despotism was even less endurable.

The seeds of political liberty first developed in the thirteenth century in England, where the nobility and the propertied classes of the cities succeeded, if not in permanently destroying the absolute power of the monarch, at least in extracting from him the recognition of certain fundamental rights. These later, in the seventeenth century, ripened into a measure of liberty, when a tremendous assault upon the divine right of kings was inspired by their breach, and, to the amazement of the world, a monarch perished on the scaffold, a victim to the indignation of his people. Although these rights included the tremendous improvement of a regular representation of the voters by their chosen delegates in Parliament, that representation still omitted the common people. It was not until after the popular explosion of the French Revolution, that, largely due to it and partly to natural development in Great Britain and other countries, the suffrage, in the nineteenth century, was extended to all men, irrespective of rank or property. This at least gave a safety valve for popular feeling and thus afforded society some protection against insurrection and excess, while, on the other hand,

it resulted, to some degree at least, in a recognition of popular rights and interests as opposed to those not only of the aristocracy but, more important, of the industrial and financial princes of our own time. The struggle now is, in the more advanced countries at least, growing less political and more economic. The labor unions which developed, in their modern form, in the nineteenth century, were and are the potent means of enforcing a decent recognition of a proper standard of common life. The problem of the future is to find the way, without constant contention and warfare, to temper the evils of modern industrialism while preserving its benefits; and to give to the masses the largest possible opportunities while not imperiling civilization by the destruction of leadership and that initiative which conduces to it.

To resume the description of mediaevalism, however, it should be remarked that, in spite of the church attitude, the native strength of the European mind was such that it did not fail to assert itself to some extent even in the darkest period. Unparalleled as this age was for its ignorance, fears, credulous superstition, fanaticism and ferocity, the light of better things was always, however dimly, burning. For example, in the monasteries a little of the ancient learning was preserved. Their clerics, whether to kill ennui or to evince the virility of the human intellect even in the meanest age, engaged at least in copying and thus preserving many of the Latin manuscripts.

It is true that the splendid discussions of the ancients were replaced by the ridiculous debates of the monkish schoolmen. Some of the questions that interested them were such as the following: Does a mouse that eats the consecrated host eat the body of the Lord? Can divine Omnipotence change a prostitute to a virgin? Does Christ, as a Son, bear a double, specifically distinct relation to God, the Father and his virgin Mother? Is this proposi-

tion possible, that the first person of the Trinity hates the second? Could God, who took our nature upon him in the form of a man, as well have become a woman, a devil, a beast, a herb or a stone? And were it so possible, how should he then have preached his Gospel? Or how have been nailed to the cross? One old divine, arguing in a sermon, declared that the fact that the nominative of Jesus ended in "s," the accusative in "m" and the ablative in "u" indicated that Jesus was *summus*, *medius* and *ultimus*.

Even such discussions, however, evidenced the vitality of the human intellect, in that, handicapped as the debaters were by the limitations and dire penalties of the church, they nevertheless preserved the love of inquiry, and sometimes under the disguise of silly disputation, rose to the height of really important philosophic inquiry. They always carefully hedged apparent freedom, however, with the dominating tenet that the mind alone, apart from revelation, is powerless to reach metaphysical reality; a truth to be sure, but one which often lost its value by an obscure notion of the true boundary between science and metaphysics or theology. Most of the schoolmen, indeed, had read Aristotle, but it was generally from fragmentary Latin translations, and the principles of that great philosopher were often used merely to interpret Scriptural passages.

About the eleventh century, there began some small revival of culture, partly as a natural development of human reason and curiosity, and partly through infiltration from the Arabian civilization of Spain, of which we shall presently speak. Reading and writing ceased to be the monopoly of the clericals and were imparted to the more ambitious of the well-to-do. From the translated Arab and Indian tales and from the Latin classics was

now supplied material which inspired many of the ballads and songs of the minstrels and troubadours, and awakened in mediaeval Europe the genius of poetry. Largely as a result of the Arab influence, schools which were the beginnings of the modern universities were founded in several of the larger cities, but their culture and teachings were confined within narrow limits. And as soon as the new culture threatened to take on the form of an enlightened philosophy, the Church was at once in arms, and all the cruelty of its dogmatism was concentrated upon the consequent heresies.

The Crusades, covering roughly a period of one hundred and fifty years, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, strangely enough assisted the revival of culture. These great movements, largely through the instrumentality of the Popes, always seeking occasion to inflame Christian ardor and thus centralize Christian power, from time to time swept with tremendous impetus across Europe to rescue the holy city of Jerusalem and the sepulchre of Christ from the Moslem power. That object was not in the end attained, but the contacts of the European with the eastern civilization proved broadening and improving. Nevertheless, the Crusades, based as they were upon the passionate fanaticism of the people, exerted also a reactionary influence by augmenting at once their superstitions and their cruelty to non-believers. It was with the aid of this reaction that the priests nipped in the bud the spirit of free inquiry and restored the scholastic dogmatism. The common people were still left in illiteracy and the increasing masses of the monks were little better. The Jews were hunted and their schools destroyed. Heresies were exterminated and their advocates tortured and burned in great numbers. What science there was became magic; and chemistry and astronomy, which

had for a moment flourished under the Arab influence, became alchemy and astrology, which at least was preferable to their entire neglect.

The abuses of the Church even at this period were so great as to cause the beginning of a general criticism and rebellion. These, while at first carefully restrained, ripened gradually into muttered and then outspoken satires and criticisms which were to find their full vent several centuries later in the outburst of the Reformation. Princes and common men alike resented the constant financial exactions which filled the papal treasury and the swarms of corrupt and ignorant monks who were fattening themselves in every land, while to this resentment of the princes was added a growing greed as they noted the tremendous ecclesiastic land holdings ripe for seizure. The reverence with which the monastic orders had once been regarded was gradually converted, in spite of the undoubted good still performed by many of their number, into ridicule and contempt. Everywhere in Europe arose a sense of clerical abuse and a demand for more spirituality in the Church. Great leaders, condemned and in some instances burned by the Church, had, as early as the fourteenth century, insisted upon the translation of the Latin Bible into the various vernaculars and a return from artificial dogmas to the simple religion of Jesus.

But long before this, and just as Europe was settling down to the barbarity of these Dark Ages, a great and enlightened power was born into the world and swept rapidly to dominion. This movement came from a region whence it was to have been little expected. In the desert wastes of Arabia, in the early part of the seventh century, a new prophet, Mohammed, suddenly denounced the idolatry of his countrymen, unfurled the banner of a pure monotheism, and demanded its spread by the sword. His rebellion against polytheism and idolatry was partly



inspired by his contacts with Jews and with Nestorian Christians. From them he received instruction in the Old and New Testaments, and he speedily recognized the close relationship of his own people to these teachings by reason of their consanguinity with the Jews, whose sacred books had given to the world both Judaism and Christianity. He adopted the essential doctrine of both religions, rejecting of course the Phariseism of the Jews, the divinity of Christ, trinitarianism and the other mystic dogmas of Christianity. He accepted Moses and Jesus as predecessor seers, but trumpeted forth his own choice as the prophet who was finally to compel the reverential worship of the one God by the whole world, under a simple and democratic ethics differing little from the Jewish, if more suited to the genius of his own people. His formula was that Allah is God and Mohammed his prophet. He reprobated in the fiercest terms any concession, however subtle, to polytheism. We may believe that in this he found no lack of sympathy among the Jews or even among the Nestorians, who, as we have already seen, had utterly rejected the worship of the Mother of God.

These considerations may in some degree account for the speedy and easy conquest, both military and spiritual, which the Arabs made under the leadership of Mohammed's immediate successors in the eastern world, which had been disturbed by the dissensions concerning the unity of God within the Church. It must not be supposed, however, that the Mohammedan faith was always and entirely a pure and philosophic monotheism. Pure it certainly for the most part was, but naturally there had to be a general enlightenment among its followers before its later noble conceptions were reached. And, as in the case of all great religious movements, even though this one occurred in an historic and comparatively recent age, the personality of its prophet, though known to us much more

intimately than that of any other, and the dignity of his faith were soon surrounded if not obscured by legend. Among the numerous stories, it may suffice to mention that which tells us that, in order to make a royal convert, Mohammed drew from the firmament the moon and, after it had rested on the top of the Caaba, passed seven times around it and then bowed to Mohammed, he compelled it to enter the right sleeve of his mantle and to depart by the left.

The two most amazing things in relation to early Mohammedanism are its rapid spread and the brilliant culture, based on the Greek, which almost immediately illuminated its civilization and corrected the initial barbarity of its founders. Within a quarter of a century after the death of the prophet, it conquered not only Egypt and Syria, but the Mesopotamian and Persian countries, and by the middle of the eighth century it held beneath its sway all north Africa and Spain, had entrenched even further upon the eastern Empire and had extended its Asiatic dominion as far as India. It also within the next hundred years or so obtained lodgment in Sicily, which it held in whole or in part for several centuries.

The religious conquest was largely a peaceful one among peoples tired of dogmatic subtleties and of fierce sectarian contention, and ready to receive a true monotheism. Nor is the triumph of Greek learning over the victors any more surprising when its causes are studied. The fierce Arabs were certainly no more civilized than the conquering Teutons of the north. But unlike Christianity, which fettered their freedom, Mohammedanism always has been a simple religion remarkably free from dogma. Its devotees have never been hampered by any elaborate ecclesiastic organization nor confined within the limits of an all-embracing revelation. With them religion has had its own field, separate from that of secular learning.

The truths of science might be inconsistent with their legends and the speculations of philosophy might trench upon their religious doctrines; but the Arab authorities, entranced by the learning and art of their new subjects found nothing either in the latter's science or philosophy which conflicted seriously with their sole vital doctrine of the oneness of God or their simple ethics. In fact philosophy soon became the ally of religion in demonstration of the Absolute Being that dominates the universe.

The Moslem empire speedily split into three, those of Spain, Egypt and Asia. The caliphs of each set themselves to the assiduous cultivation of the learning of the East. This began through their contact with the Nestorian Christians and with the Hellenized Jews, who were then, as now, cosmopolitans pursuing trade and culture in all the great cities. For nearly four centuries in the East and for three more in Spain, a noble civilization was fostered. The Greek manuscripts were assiduously collected and repeatedly copied and translated into Arabic. Nor did this revived culture take the direction only of science and philosophy. Poetry was developed, and, for the first time in history, a fictional literature. The Arab powers had contacts with the remote East and drew, it is said, from India as well as from their own legends and rich imagination those interesting romances with which even the least learned are acquainted in the entrancing narratives of the Arabian Nights. Haroun-al-Raschid, the great caliph who figures in so many of these stories ruled at Bagdad contemporaneously with Charlemagne in Europe. To the Arabs is due the introduction into Europe of the fascinating game of chess.

More serious were the labors of the Arabs and the Jews, particularly in Spain, in the fields of practical invention and useful arts, of science and philosophy. They were the manufacturers of superb products for use and luxury.

They practiced and wrote treatises on scientific agriculture and horticulture, including even grafting. They introduced into the Moslem dominions and into Europe the manufacture of paper, thus paving the way for the epochal invention of printing in the fifteenth century. They improved the geometry and trigonometry of the Greeks. They practically originated chemistry and pharmacy. They invented the pendulum, glimpsed the nature of gravity, profoundly studied light refraction and optics, and generally developed the science of physics. They advanced medicine and made tremendous strides in the art of surgery, performing difficult operations with the use of anaesthetics. They supplied for a long period almost the only physicians in Europe. They remeasured the earth, mapped the stars, calculated the angle of the ecliptic and bettered everywhere the Greek astronomic achievements. They compiled grammars and dictionaries.

These men developed from Greek origins a very respectable philosophy, notably, so far as its European influence is concerned, that of Averroes. This was a kind of pantheism, which seems to have promised to man no other immortality than that of ultimate union with the universal Godhead. It reached Europe and was promptly denounced by the Church, while several heresies which it inspired were fiercely exterminated.

Perhaps the greatest achievements of the Arabian-Jewish learning were the invention and introduction into the whole civilized world of the numeral system of the familiar nine digits and the zero, the decimal system and the science of algebra. While the art of writing is supreme in its basic necessity, one certainly does not err in giving a very respectable second place to these contributions to mathematical art, without which the vast business of modern times would have been sadly hampered and the exact sciences would have been impossible. The Arabs

founded institutions of learning throughout their dominions and it was largely their influence in introducing the university idea into Europe which gave the impetus we have already noted to the revival of culture in the benighted countries to the north. Christian princes and churchmen came from all sections to Spain to receive the benefit of its schools. The rich there lived in comfort and in luxury, their buildings and gardens showing many of those devices, such as baths and piping, which have come only into general use in our own time.

This fine civilization lasted in Spain until the monarchs of Castile and Aragon sealed the death warrant of their own country's prosperity at the close of the fifteenth century by the expulsion of Moors and Jews. It had already died in the East when the caliphates there fell before the Turks. When the last blow was dealt it in Europe, that continent was saved from sinking again into darkness under the bigoted rule of the triumphant Church by the fortunate fact that by this time the Renaissance was well advanced. The resurrection of culture through inherent forces was at hand. The northern intellect was about to assert itself. And under the impulse supplied by the revival of classic erudition and by the qualified demand for intellectual freedom made by the Reformation, not only was antiquity again to educate and inspire human art and science, but they were to be carried forward, in a rapid and brilliant progress unknown even to the Greeks, continuously until the present time, probably never again in human history to be repressed.



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE HISTORY OF MEN FROM THE RENAISSANCE OF CULTURE TO THE TRIUMPH OF SCIENCE

THE power of the Church steadily declined as its abuses multiplied and were more and more generally recognized. During the progress of the fifteenth century the growing resentment was immensely aided by the revival of learning, the invention of printing and the displacement of Latin as the sole vehicle of literary expression by the modern tongues. All these elements came together to produce at once the Reformation and the Renaissance, and the interaction was such that each had more or less its part in creating the other. The first book printed was the Bible. It became increasingly accessible to those who could read and it was soon discovered that the Church's interpretations of its teaching were not the only possible ones. Printing too had its natural effect in increasing the number of those who acquired the ability to read and write.

For several centuries the centralizing monopoly of the Church language had been slowly yielding to rivals as in each European country the innumerable dialects hardened, through the increase of writing, into a modern and classic tongue. The new literatures, consisting chiefly of tales and poems, that sprang into brilliant life in the fourteenth century, were written no longer in Latin, but each in its own young and vigorous idiom. This process was much facilitated by the invention of printing. Our

respect for the human intellect is increased when we note the rapidity with which multitudes of books were printed in many of the leading cities of Europe.

Just at this moment the Renaissance burst into full flower, and many of the Greek classics soon found their way into print. As the Turks prevailed more and more against the crumbling Byzantine power, Greek scholars had been finding their way into western Europe and particularly into Italy throughout the fifteenth century; and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 greatly increased these migrations of the learned. The overwhelming superiority of the classics may for the moment have retarded the advance of the current literatures, but the ancient models served soon to inspire them with a new life, which from the seventeenth century on produced those modern European masterpieces which have no superiors and few equals among their ancient progenitors.

Italy had preceded and surpassed the rest of Europe in the creation of a vernacular literature, as it now did also in the study of the newly acquired ancient art and learning. As early as the thirteenth century classic Italian emerged, in which were soon produced the noble works of Dante and Petrarch and the stories of Boccaccio. These latter at once evince and helped to produce the contemporary contempt and disrespect for clerical abuses. By the sixteenth century Italy was a land effervescing with enthusiasm not only for learning and literature but for the arts; and in the latter, particularly architecture, it equalled if it did not surpass the Greek and Roman models. In the glorious paintings of this period it stands alone. Europe had already developed the noble so-called Gothic ecclesiastic architecture, really a combination of Roman and Greek forms, and now Italy became the pioneer in the architecture of the Renaissance which, aiming at the restoration of more strictly Greek models, soon,

throughout that beauty-loving land, acquired a soul-moving distinction all its own.

Even the highest churchmen in their cultivation of Greek philosophy sometimes acquired a surprising contempt for the basic dogmas of orthodoxy. The already prevailing decadence of morals, due to the luxury of civil and ecclesiastic tyranny, was not lessened by religious doubt, nor corrected by a sensuous art and pagan epicurism which, in the flush of discovery, was slow to develop into that higher and more thoughtful type which is at once consistent with and productive of the noblest ethics. It is a curious, if somewhat familiar illustration of human psychology that many princes of the Church, at this time at least, were willing to study and even to tolerate and admire the wisdom of antiquity, however at variance with its own tenets, so long as that wisdom was unapplied and, in a large sense, esoteric. Fault was not found with it so long as it was not publicly urged as hostile to the Christian faith or hierarchy, nor until the Reformation had caused in the Roman Church a reaction to orthodoxy.

But before that time, the ecclesiastic dignitaries of Italy, including the Popes, and the princes of Florence, of Ferrara, and of many of the Italian principalities vied in their endeavors to revive the dead glories of Rome and Greece. Magnificent buildings were erected; old manuscripts searched for in every dark corner and rushed into print; ancient statues unearthed and magnificent new ones sculptured; the eye ravished with new glories of color and form; and philosophy read and discussed in aristocratic salons. Popes and cardinals seemed to contend with each other in their luxury, corruption and love of art and learning, unwitting or careless that the new light tended to their own destruction. Students from beyond the Alps thronged the Italian universities and,

carrying home the liberal ideas there acquired, engaged in deadly combat with the schoolmen for supremacy in their own universities. Writers and thinkers sprang into being throughout Europe and everywhere, as in Italy, princes and nobles competed in gathering around themselves the most brilliant galaxies of artists and litterateurs. Indeed, the sole subsistence of such men was often the pensions of some of these modern Maecenases, who took pride in supporting at ease those who, as geniuses, they felt should be protected from worldly struggle in order to entertain and instruct the whole race of men. And in addition to or in substitution for such regular support, the writers and artists also derived a less certain income, according to their reputation, from sporadic gifts by dignitaries and by those to whom they dedicated their works.

We see many of these facts and the spirit of this age strikingly illustrated in the career of one of these pensioners, the learned Erasmus, who, a contemporary of the Reformation, was said by those of his own time to have laid the egg which Luther hatched. He did not lead in that great movement, nor run any serious risk of punishment, since his object was the restoration of learning, to which for him all else was subordinate; and certainly no reformation of the Church other than from within. This man, though originally a monk, was, by virtue of his talents, released from his vows. But he had first become acquainted and disgusted with the bigoted hatred of learning, the coarseness, the unmeaning ceremonies and the orgies of many of his original associates. A native of the Netherlands, he became in mature life a cosmopolitan, and was equally at home in the most cultured circles of England, France, Italy, Switzerland and his native country. His writings, so far as they were translated into nearly all the current European vernaculars and had ref-

erence to contemporary institutions, that is to say, so far as they were apart from his real interest, classic learning, evince, and generally in a satiric and humorous form, the keenest insight into the abuses of his time. He was the first of the thoughtful moderns, even attacking war and despotism. He never forgot his repugnance on witnessing in his travels the triumphal entry of the war-like Pope, Julius II, into Bologna.

He does not mince his words in his assaults on the monastic orders. They have not, he says, even those common virtues which either natural reason or experience or the precepts of the philosophers enable the heathen to acquire. He attacks their ignorance, venality and immorality and advocates a return to primitive Christianity. He argues that if the image of Christ is to be honored, how much more, the image of his mind. His rationalism is so far in advance of his age that he thinks no more of the literal meaning of the story of creation than he does of that of Prometheus.

He bitterly attacked the sale of indulgences, which was the immediate cause of the Reformation. He says: "What shall I say of such as cry up and maintain the cheat of indulgences, that by these compute the time of each soul's residence in purgatory, and assign a longer or shorter continuance, according as they purchase more or fewer of these paltry pardons and saleable exemptions? \* \* \* \* By this easy way of purchasing pardon, any notorious highwayman, any plundering soldier, or any bribe-taking judge shall disburse some part of their unjust gains and so think all their grossest impieties sufficiently atoned for." He lashes the folly of worshiping saints, telling us that there is one saint for the tooth-ache, a second to grant an easy delivery in child-birth, a third to help persons to lost goods, and so on, ad infinitum. And he adds that, besides local saints, there are other greater ones as the Virgin,



"whose blind devotees think it manners now to place the Mother before the Son."

We are tempted to a disproportionate treatment of the advanced views of this fine mind by the illumination they cast upon this wonderful period of the Renaissance. "Almost all Christians," he says, "are wretchedly enslaved to blindness and ignorance, which the priests are so far from preventing or removing, that they blacken the darkness or promote the delusion; wisely foreseeing that the people would part with less if they knew more." He intimates that the priests would not enjoy the teaching "that the best title to a pardon of our sins is purchased by a hearty abhorrence of our guilt and sincere resolutions of amendment, \* \* \* that the best devotion which can be paid to any saints is to imitate them in their exemplary life, \* \* \* that a pious life is the only way to secure a happy death."

The proper way of worship, he says, is not through images and pictures, which quite subvert the true end of religion "whilst the unwary supplicants seldom distinguish betwixt the things themselves and the objects they represent." Again, "Some of the monks are so obstinately superstitious that they will wear their upper garments of some coarse dog's hair stuff and that next their skins as soft as silk. \* \* \* They are exquisitely dexterous in unfolding the most intricate mysteries, they will tell you to a tittle all the successive proceedings of Omnipotence \* \* \* but they have very little religion in them. \* \* \* They make no scruple of the sin of drunkenness and the lust of the flesh. \* \* \* They hold it a proof of their consummate piety if they are so illiterate as not to be able to read. \* \* \* Princes do not think of the responsibilities of their position, but of their own pleasure." He says that they think they govern sufficiently if they hunt, breed good race-horses, sell places to the highest bidders and

discover new means of plundering their subjects. He attacks the sensuality, ignorance and simony of popes, cardinals and bishops, and makes an earnest appeal to them really to imitate Christ and to refrain from the issue of interdicts, excommunications and bulls as contrary to the spirit of Christianity.

He remarks that we trust the rudder of a vessel, where a few sailors and some goods are in jeopardy, to none but skillful pilots, but the State wherein the safety of so many thousands is concerned, we put into any hands. He asks whether we shall choose the master of a ship and not choose him who is to have the care of many cities and many souls. While he admits that the usage is too long established to be subverted, he remarks that noble cities are erected by the people but destroyed by princes, that communities grow rich by the industry of their citizens and are plundered by the rapacity of their rulers, and that wars are due to the excitation of princes. He remarks that no sooner is a harbor reached than extortions begin, that one cannot cross a bridge without paying toll, that one cannot pass a river but he feels the prince's might, and that if he have any baggage he must redeem it from these accursed robbers, while the wretched common people are defrauded and starved by innumerable tithes and taxes. The eagle, he remarks, is the apt type of royalty, not beautiful, not musical, not fit for food, but carnivorous, greedy and destructive.

"You cannot be baptized," he says, "that is to say, you cannot become a Christian without paying for it. \* \* \* They will not marry you unless you put your hand in your pocket; they will not confess you but to get something by it. They celebrate the mass for hire, they will not sing for nothing, they will not pray for nothing, they will not lay on a hand for nothing. \* \* \* I say nothing of the harvest which is gathered from litigations and

dispensations, as they call them; from pardons vulgarly called indulgences."

Everybody seems to have been delighted with these views, bishops, princes and the reading public generally. The radical nature of many of them was shielded to some extent because, with inimitable satire, he places them in the mouth of a personified Folly. Everyone could laugh as he saw the stream of ridicule turned upon some well known object, no one taking unto himself the shoe. One admirer was even the principal of the university of Louvain, later Pope Adrian VI. The monks alone were really furious, but Erasmus stood so high in favor that nothing could be done against him.

Perhaps his most important work was the editing of a Greek New Testament. At this the monks were fairly astounded. They had used the Latin so long that most of them had forgotten that there was an original tongue. So many dogmas had been built upon the verbal rendition of the Vulgate that they trembled for their entire structure and, as they were entirely ignorant of Greek, which they ranked together with all strange tongues under the common appellation, Hebrew, they thought there was no necessity for such an unheard of innovation. Serious charges of heresy were launched at the bold scholar for this appeal to original sources. As we have noted elsewhere, he discovered New Testament passages concerning the incarnation and the Trinity to have been interpolations not found in the original manuscripts and made by the prevailing parties of the early church to crush the first schismatics. The famous trinitarian passage in the Epistle of John, which he had omitted for that reason from his first two editions, he was frightened into inserting in the third. He was very doubtful whether the Book of Revelation is really the work of the apostle John, a doubt in which many modern critics concur.

In 1517 Luther struck the first blow for the Reformation. At first the attack was solely against church abuses and was nothing more than a demand for internal reform. But as the bold leader was tactlessly handled by the ecclesiastic authorities, the result was finally a total breach. This was followed not only by the rebels' correction of abuses and by their separate organization of protestant churches within their respective countries, but gradually by wide divergencies in creed. The views of Erasmus on the early issues were in harmony with those of the Lutherans, and he has been bitterly attacked for his failure to join them. Not only did he share their opinions of indulgences and other corruptions, but he was against enforced clerical celibacy and the claims of papal supremacy. He even boldly advocated the giving of the Bible to the laity and its translation into all languages.

But, aside from the fact that Erasmus was of a gentle and retiring nature and not of the kind of which fighting leaders are made, the direction that the struggle took, by reason of the excesses of both sides, was disappointing to him. Just as strongly as he was in favor of internal reform, was he opposed to a war which could only end in destroying an ancient unity, while setting back, as he supposed, the cause which he had most at heart, the advancement of culture. When Luther first posted his theses against indulgences, the act was warmly applauded by Erasmus, who wrote him promising support. At the same time, he attempted to abate Luther's violence, imploring him not to declaim against the Popes but against those who abuse the papal authority. He argued, with regard to opinions too generally received to be done away with all at once, that it is better to reason upon them than to deal in dogmatic assertions. When Luther finally crossed the Rubicon by burning the Pope's bull, Erasmus wrote in terms of pity for him, regretting that his advice



had not been followed. He feared that this act would make the monks ultimately triumphant and seal the doom of letters. He was bold enough to say that the bull was disapproved by all merciful men.

When asked by Pope Adrian VI to write against Luther, Erasmus tactfully evaded doing so, insisted upon the furtherance of learning as the chief need of men, and advanced the opinion that the proper way to heal the wound in the church was by leniency, the reformation of abuses and a general council. This advice came too late. The war was already on and in those disturbed times a general council was an impossibility. The consistency and candor of Erasmus were shown in his reply to the Lutheran attack on himself in relation to the papal supremacy, in which, after showing that the Pope had every historic claim to the first place among Christian bishops, he says, "As to the extravagant powers which they have usurped for some centuries past, no one has ever heard me defend it."

We can see now, as contemporaries could not, that such a torrent of passion as the Reformation loosed, could not be held within those bounds which wisdom might have desired. The Protestant schism had to come, men being what they are, but how wise Erasmus was, from his standpoint, in resisting it, is to be seen by the sequel. His was the attitude of the philosopher who, despising the errors of both sides to this controversy, was unable to espouse either. It was really the spirit of freedom that dictated the demand for release from ecclesiastic tyranny and corruption, and to that extent the Reformation was a step forward. But it was not true liberty that it brought. It merely substituted for the authority of the Church that of the Bible. Its mental narrowness was evinced by the almost immediate splitting of its forces throughout Europe into a multitude of sects, each one professing indu-



bitable knowledge of metaphysical mysteries. And these sects became as intolerant of each other and of unorthodox learning as ever the Church had been of its heretics. If they have less upon their heads of the blood of their fellow men, it is not because of any greater tolerance, but only because the desire to punish was limited at first by ability and later by an expediency born of reciprocal fears.

Even in the first few years of the Reformation, it became apparent that rationalism could not join a movement whose spirit soon became as narrow and dogmatic as that of the Roman Church in its darkest days. When Luther had become the Protestant pope and had begun to give utterance to dicta concerning hell, man's soul after death, and predestination, it was as impossible for reason to follow him as to be willing to jeopardize the rich fruits of the Renaissance. Men like Erasmus, whose liberalism was so broad that some of his writings give us reason to suspect that he doubted the divinity of the Holy Ghost and even of Christ, and who dismissed the controversy on free will as beyond human solution, could only hope for the day when theological controversies as fierce as they were silly should give way to the reasonable discussions of science.

The historian finds only too often occasion to regret the violence aroused by the struggles incident to human development. So much, alas, could have been saved in suffering and so much gained in enlightenment, if his clearness of perspective could have been that of the opposing leaders. We are living, however, in an imperfect world, and are condemned to realize progress very slowly and only as the result of evolutionary warfare. Only from its horrors and the blood and tears of its combatants at last emerges the better adapted product. The Reformation, however narrow its spirit, however insistent its leaders

that the test of knowledge was still the Bible, accomplished a great deal in bringing forth from its cruel battles, at first, freedom from a central despotism which presumed to hold over all men the absolute authority of God, and then, by the alternating agonies of the internecine warfare of its own sects, that tolerance which today permits the free expression of thought and is a leading principle if not the unexceptional practice of every polity.

The Roman Catholic Church attempted in vain to reunite to itself its rebellious children by true reforms of its administrative abuses and of its morals, which have continued with few interruptions to this day. To be sure, these reforms did not prevent the logical culmination in the nineteenth century of its historic dogmas in the declaration of the infallibility of the Pope and the relegation of church councils to a merely advisory function. This completed the structure of a true theocracy. God was thus declared the sole ruler of the world and the Pope his inspired viceroy, who can do no wrong; who may, indeed, take advice, but whose ultimate fiat is that of Omniscience. To this logical if unprecedentedly arrogant assumption, based, as it is, not even on Scriptural authority, at least in any way that is clear to the ordinary reader, the Church added, in defiance of the enlightened spirit of the century in which these amazing things occurred, the dogma of the immaculate conception of the Mother of God.

The Roman Catholic Church maintains its own schools for the joint secular and religious education of the children of its people. Protestantism for the most part has been saved from a similar policy by the number of its sects. Nevertheless, the spirit of Puritanism is no less hostile to those who look forward to mental freedom than the centralized power of Romanism even if, through internal discord, Protestantism has been driven to be the

great champion of the public school system and the deadly enemy of religious influence thereon. For there can be little doubt that the fervor of orthodox opinion in every Christian church is such that, given the power, its educational policy would not materially differ from the Roman. The union of secular and religious instruction is logically an effort to chain science to orthodox authority and its tendency is to establish ultimately the theocratic coalescence of Church and State. The enlightenment of the times, however, is such, even in the churches, as to render that consummation no longer possible. But the progress of that enlightenment is sadly retarded by such an anachronism.

One remedy is thoughtful and concentrated effort to improve the curriculum and personnel of the public school system. Its increasing merit may then join with other forces of progress in the peaceful abatement of sectarian schools and in the promotion of resistance to all fetters upon knowledge. The text-books of science and history must be those of experts gifted with the art of interesting presentation; and the curriculum should unquestionably include ethics, to be taught in the lower grades in elementary form and chiefly empirically by the reading of classic stories of noble self-control and altruistic devotion, and in the higher grades by the presentation of its evolutionary development. Perhaps too we may some day see a system whereunder the teachers and curricula of all schools must be licensed by an intelligent State, recognizing fully its interest in the training of its citizenship. It is, alas, probably too early to expect a compulsory education in schools, secular schools at least, which postpone to the higher grades their undoubted right to teach theology and metaphysics; but it is a travesty of freedom to permit the teaching of the ultra-physical as fact to immature minds. Perhaps by the time that such sensible, if

radical, innovations may be brought about, we shall have developed a sufficiently liberal and wide-spread intelligence from which to draw the material for wise administration of such great powers.

We have anticipated somewhat by describing briefly the Catholic development to our own times after the reforms which followed the Lutheran rebellion. Those reforms did not include any intellectual broadening. Europe was still to be drenched in the blood of religious warfare, the Inquisition was still for a century or so to bring about the torture and death of thousands of heretics and Jews, and the Roman, in common with the other churches, was to contest, even until our own time, each radical advance in scientific knowledge. If the Protestants have been more receptive to that knowledge it is only because they lack a central authority strong enough to compel obedience on the part of those of their membership who endeavor to combine the new science with the old confessions. In all the churches the tolerance compelled by internecine division and by the increasing softness of manners, has resulted in the concentration of their fire upon the external enemy, the rationalism which from the time of the Renaissance has continuously developed throughout the civilized world.

Rome, during the brilliant intellectual movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, undertook to censor publications, to publish its lists of those allowed and those proscribed, and, wherever possible, to enforce this censorship by drastic penalties, including death by fire. The first great struggle was against Copernican astronomy. It need not be supposed that all the leading men of the church, familiar as many of them were at this period with the Greek culture, were impelled by sincere belief in the Genesis account of creation. Yet they fought with the fiercest pertinacity the great truth that the earth, far



from being the centre of the universe, is but a fragment of matter whirling around one of millions of suns. The reason was their clear vision of the fact that, among the masses at least, the cessation of the belief in the unique and commanding position of the earth and its inhabitants, would make difficult of retention that favoring revelation to men upon which their theology rests. If they once admitted earthly littleness, to their logic it seemed impossible to continue to preach human dignity and special divine interposition in men's behalf. In fact, the orthodox religious leaders were those irreligious enough, as they discovered later when they were compelled to yield the position, not to perceive that the infinite vastness and mystery of the universe, not to speak of the marvel of the human mind that aspires to understand it, really only add to the truth of those truly religious concepts which their dogmatism does so much to obscure.

Copernicus feared to publish his work until he was in a dying state, and then it was promptly condemned by the Church. Galileo was twice compelled by the Inquisition to recant his proofs that the earth revolves about the sun, and Bruno, who refused to recant, met at the stake the fate that Galileo feared. The real movements of the planetary bodies were demonstrated by these great men of the sixteenth century, including, besides those mentioned, Kepler, Brahe, and others, while in the seventeenth century this great intellectual triumph was capped by the immortal work of the greatest of them all, Isaac Newton, who mathematically demonstrated the law of gravitation by which the planets are hurled within their orbs.

Science thus in a precise way, with the assistance of modern instruments, carried its investigations into the depths of the surrounding void, and the few thousand stars of the ancients became the millions of the modern



telescope and camera, while the very materials of which they are composed were later ascertained by the spectro-scope. And even as the work begun by the Greeks was thus so finely perfected in the vast stellar universe, so were their surprisingly correct deductions in the realm of the minute corroborated by modern chemistry. Little more than a hundred years ago, Dalton empirically proved the atomic theory, on the basis of the following facts disclosed by his labors and those of his successors. The various complex substances of which our earth and its organic and inorganic contents are composed were found to be compounds of a few substances termed elements, which science has not yet been able to reduce to still simpler forms of matter. These elements are few, numbering only some four score inclusive of a large majority of rare ones. They were discovered to combine with each other, in order to form the more complex substances, in definite and multiple proportions not only by weight but by volume, in such a way as to lead logically to but one explanation, that of an ultimate atomic constitution. To illustrate: Water when analyzed into its constituent elements, oxygen and hydrogen, is found always to contain eight times as much oxygen by weight as hydrogen and twice as much hydrogen by volume as oxygen. Hydrogen and oxygen may combine in different proportions to form other substances than water, but the proportion of the volume of one gas to that of the other might be found to be such as 2 to 1 or 4 to 1 or 3 to 2, but never such as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 or any proportion in which either term is fractional. Similarly the proportion of the weight of one gas to that of the other might be found to be such as 8 to 1 or 32 to 1 or 16 to 2, but again never a proportion in which either term is fractional. Peroxide of hydrogen is a substance composed, like water, of hydrogen and oxygen, but when it is split into its constituents it is found that the oxygen

has sixteen times the weight of the hydrogen, but that their volumes are the same. The explanation is that both water and peroxide consist of ultimate particles or molecules built up of atoms of hydrogen and oxygen, the peroxide molecule consisting of one atom of each and the water molecule of two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen, while an atom of the latter weighs sixteen times as much as an atom of hydrogen. In our own time, the analysis has been carried further and, as we have seen in Chapter IX, the atom of any element has been shown probably to differ from that of any other only in the position, number and motion of the constituent electrical particles.

Before proceeding further with the recent development of science and philosophy it is well to note briefly how, partly due to their reviving life, great political reforms were introduced which gave the masses a larger measure of opportunity than ever before. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, in France, the passionate resentment of a grossly misruled people at last burst forth. Long had they suffered under the misgovernment of tyrants whose notion of glory was more the pursuit of international expansion and a material splendor limited chiefly to a pampered aristocracy believed to reflect it on the throne, than the sedulous cultivation of a general prosperity. Such a policy could result only in national impoverishment. When the exchequer was finally exhausted, a convocation of the representatives of the people and an appeal for new resources became imperative in view of the impossibility of taxing further the poverty of the lower classes. At this juncture the people were threatened with starvation and, as is usually the case, this combination of ominous and exciting circumstances inflamed their courage and released their usual inhibitions. This is one of the most instructive of historic events. For a while it

seemed as though the Revolution might progress in an orderly way by the peaceful adoption of a constitution converting absolutism into a constitutional monarchy similar to the English, and of legislation taxing justly the clergy and aristocracy and reforming the worst abuses. Partly, however, from the mismanagement of the threatened royalty and aristocracy, but more from the outburst of the uncontrollable passions of the long repressed and wretchedly unhappy rabble, civilization was, for a time, almost completely wrecked.

The debacle had been aided in its course by certain literature of the times that had made the mistake, so frequent when men become impatient with slow, evolutionary progress, of teaching, contrary to all history and science, the primeval existence of men in a simple state of happiness, from which they had fallen by reason of their own sins and the contrivances of oppressors. This idea became that of many of the revolutionary leaders. It is the basis of the anarchistic argument for the abolition of government and of the inhibitions of civilization, that were supposed alone to bar the return to original bliss.

Just as it is natural, considering the infirmities of human nature, for ruling classes not sufficiently checked, to become insane with power and thus ruthless in greed, so, and even to a greater extent, it is natural for the appetites of ignorance, whetted by undue repression, to burst all bounds at the first unpunished taste of blood. The innocent suffered with the guilty and France saw many of her most enlightened citizens either torn to pieces by mobs or guillotined by the decrees of a doubtful justice. During the several years of travail, the radicals of each successive development became the conservatives of the next, until in the end the fair land of France was misgoverned by the most rabid and unenlightened of its politicians and legislation rapidly traveled beyond reform

to anarchy. This was followed as usual by the final subjection of the tortured country to a new tyranny, which, however, was careful to base its power upon the preservation of some of the important reforms. These were the germs of the liberal institutions of present-day France.

The more the French Revolution has been dispassionately studied, the more clearly it has appeared that, in spite of its bloody but comprehensible excesses, it has been a great boon to the race. Real freedom in Europe dates from that era. Even England may trace its suffrage reforms of the nineteenth century, at least partly, to this influence. From the time of the Revolution onward, feudal injustices were everywhere abolished, the right of men to legal equality was widely, if not everywhere and entirely, recognized, the persecution of races and sects was generally prohibited and in many countries almost entirely suppressed, and even the Jews were permitted a partnership in opportunity. Laws were repealed which had confined them to ghettos and had prevented them from owning land, entering into the universities and learned professions, and even in some jurisdictions from engaging in the more dignified branches of commerce.

Modern political and social development has at last brought about, if not an impossible and unnatural equality, at least opportunity unknown before for general education and the translation of the talented from the lowest to the highest classes. Vast improvements are still to be made. The first, since it is a prerequisite to all the rest, is the wider extension of a reformed and enlightened education.

In the last three centuries, and particularly in their latter half, there have been notable additions to ancient thought. Not only have the scientific discoveries of that period confirmed and illuminated many of the Greek speculations, but by their great generalizations they have en-



abled the modern thinkers to present more clearly than ever before the picture of a monistic cosmos developing under immutable law. The method of the acquisition of possible knowledge and its limits have been analyzed with a completeness never attempted by the ancients; and the existence of an inscrutable Power immanent and working in the world has been established to a degree of certainty not surpassed by that of any empiric conviction.

Essential in this development were the labors of the English school, in which the more important names are those of Locke, Berkeley and Hume, while the German philosopher, Kant, if he somewhat obscured, also developed to a further point, the results of their brilliant labors. It is practically in our own time that those results were immeasurably improved by the demonstration of evolution in the cosmic processes by the great English thinkers, Spencer and Darwin. This had long been suspected and the evidence during the last century and a half had been more and more pointing in that direction, wanting only the bridging of the gap by the discovery of the methods by which the evolutionary process works. This was largely accomplished by the painstaking investigations of Darwin.

The unparalleled progress of modern science and philosophy is the rich reward of the inductive method. The ancients from the time of Aristotle realized the importance of this method, but its application required an age sufficiently advanced in the crafts to produce the necessary instruments. These have now been in increasing use for several centuries, exposing to the intelligent eyes of their manipulators those interesting and useful natural principles which have constituted the nutriment upon which have grown the wonderful practical inventions and still more marvelous generalizations of the present epoch. It is a sad fact, however, that neither our universities nor



our educational system generally have kept proper pace with these achievements.

When the craving for knowledge was awakened in the fifteenth century, Europe was relatively poor in literature and entirely without ordered science. Such was the delight, therefore, of the more aspiring intellects with the rich beauties of the Latin and Greek writings that it is not surprising that from that time education was almost entirely confined to the acquisition of those dead tongues and the study of their treasures. The very impetus of this new, classical education, however, soon gave to every country of western Europe its own inspiring literature, while science speedily effected achievements which made those of the ancients pale into insignificance. All that was solid in their thought and knowledge was gradually absorbed into the current learning and letters, so that nations which have produced the numerous and unsurpassed poets and philosophers who have written in their respective vernaculars, and the equally numerous scientists who have reflected an unparalleled glory on this era, needed no longer to confine the education of their youth to ancient lore.

Such, however, is the conservatism of men that until recently education has been impeded by an almost idolatrous veneration for the classics and a corresponding neglect of modern science, while even to-day the necessary reform has been by no means completed. It is only for the last fifty years or so that the colleges and universities have introduced into their curricula scientific courses and modern laboratories, and even to-day they are neglected except by specialists. In many high schools science is absurdly overlooked. The study of languages and even dead languages, in other words, the study of a mere means to knowledge, is given the priceless time needed for the acquisition of the rich substance of knowledge. Instead of

minimizing the misfortune of the existence of so many tongues, we find young men and women turned out from our schools who believe themselves educated if they have acquired a scanty acquaintance with several languages, ancient or modern, and a smattering of art and belles-lettres, while they are densely ignorant of those scientific elements which really give some knowledge of the wonderful universe in which they live. For them the rich acquisitions of the last four centuries do not exist, except as embodied in practical inventions which they use and do not understand. In them the delight of penetration into Nature has not been nourished, and intellectually they live centuries behind their own splendid age. They are really uneducated people who have the presumption to assume the contrary because they read poetry and speak French, while unable to explain the principle of telephone or wireless or motor or indeed the elements of a single science. They may enjoy the fiction of Dumas or Thackeray or those surprising ebullitions which pass current for fiction at the present time, while totally ignorant of Newton's simple laws of motion or the law of definite and multiple proportions. They may even possibly reach the height of enjoying in some measure a Beethoven symphony without caring to understand the elementary vibrational principles that underlie its exquisite harmonies.

Indulgence in mental laziness is fostered by the false notion that a mind may be intelligent which refuses even rudimentary mathematics, upon the excuse that its talents do not lie in that direction. It rarely seems to be suspected that this excuse is merely the cover for educational ineptitude or surprising indolence. Is it possible for one not of the quasi-moron class or not handicapped by poor instruction to refuse the precise and philosophically significant logic of geometry or other simple mathematics at least as a means to the comprehension of astronomy and

physics? Is it possible for a really inquiring mind to prefer the study of Italian or Greek to the exclusion of the elementary principles of chemistry and biology? We are now alluding to fundamental education and not to that specialization which should follow it. In this age no one is really educated who has not obtained that true picture of the cosmos which can only be reached by the study of the elements of mathematics, science and philosophy. Things are improving, however, and we may perhaps look forward to the early advent of the time when it will be generally recognized that education consists not merely in the development of mental potentiality and artistic form or trained specialization, but in the creation of minds eager for fundamental knowledge. When that time comes we may confidently expect the speedy destruction of the authority of a false revelation, a correct understanding of the necessity of sole reliance upon reason for salvation and happiness, and the extraction from mother Nature of many more of her innumerable treasures, which, to paraphrase the great Newton, lie for the most part still all undiscovered before us.

The most fruitful period in the history of science has been that of the last two centuries. This is the age of applied science, of steam and of electricity and of machinery; but they have followed the discoveries of thinkers not corrupted by too great a concentration upon the practical application of their profound researches and who have been rewarded in proportion to the purity of their quest. The great inventions which have revolutionized the world's life have rarely been their contrivances, though theirs have been the labors without which the former would have been impossible. The actual inventors have been clever mechanics who must yield the major credit to those whose spur has been the love of truth alone. The telephone and the telegraph could have been predicted

many years before their actual appearance, but the ingenious labors of a Morse and a Bell were employed in the construction of apparatus which made of practical use the principles discovered by original thinkers of the Faraday type.

The present age has been characterized too by a great advance in surgery and hygiene. Both have been lengthening the span of life and diminishing the incapacitation of disease and suffering. Surgery has been enormously advanced by the discovery of new and improved anaesthetics, and hygiene by man's epochal discovery that he must add to his other enemies the most deadly of them all, countless hordes of invisible microbes, against which his intelligent warfare has hardly more than begun.

Until this period, civilization was probably on the whole not much more physically comfortable than that which Egypt and Assyria had attained four thousand years ago. During all that time even the wealthy could not boast of many conveniences which are now the possession of the poorest. Methods of transportation had not materially changed. The difficulties of travel were hardly greater in ancient Persia or in the Roman Empire than in Europe prior to the invention of the locomotive. And while manners and feelings may have grown gentler, we must not forget that a century has not yet passed since millions still lived in slavery in the United States.

The present-day industrialism born of mechanical invention brings with it difficult problems. The comforts of the race have increased but, thus stimulated, population tends ever to outstrip wealth. While mitigated by trades-unionism, the lot of the worker has suffered too by the increasing division of labor due to machinery and efficiency, rendering his work less stimulating and more monotonous. Trades-unionism, which can be thanked for so much progress, must be condemned for serious abuses.



Under its leadership, while the standard of living improves, the tendency has been to retard wealth and disappoint ambition by the reduction of the toilers to a common level of lowered efficiency. Government, however, takes a greater and more intelligent interest than ever before, based upon a sound ethical conception of the true interests of all classes, in the improvement of the general welfare. Our future problems in this respect reduce themselves to a solution of the serious difficulty of maintaining with mass progress such incentives to leadership as will prevent the disappearance of civilization through the destruction of those constructive forces which support and produce it by intelligent stimulation and guidance and by the encouragement of art and science.

The chief deterrent to wholesome progress is stupidity. The unintelligent are still in the vast majority. Whatever the reforms of the future, they must take such a direction as will guard against the danger of increasing this class. In fact their chief objective must be the affirmative one of general cultural and ethical enlightenment. As between the materialism of the general mass on the one hand, and of the industrial leadership on the other, society must carefully cherish the middle class and the true aristocracy, which springs, if chiefly from that class, largely from all classes, the aristocracy of those whose minds and hearts are truly informed. Many are the indications, in spite of so much that tempts to despair, that the pressing questions of the day will be met and peacefully solved. They will not be solved, however, so long as men rely on ancient authority rather than on present reason. They will not be solved while men legislate under the whip of an old and bigoted leadership contrary to sincere public opinion and to reason, relying for relief on a corrupt evasion. They will not be solved while, because of a generally discredited ethics, vice and weakness are not



courageously recognized and faced, and subjected to intelligent regulation. They will not be solved, for example, while left in the hands of legislators so hypocritical as to leave on our statute books ancient laws, not expected to be enforced, making criminal such a thing as the facilitation of an intelligent birth control. In short, they will not be solved until a broad culture inspires a sufficient number with adequate intelligence, sincere motive and unselfish effort.

As soon as men realized that, ceasing to rely on authority and baseless speculation, their objective must be the extraction of truth from facts, wherever it might lead, their reward was immediate. The modern method has been to compel theory to wait upon condition or at least upon corroborated hypothesis. However satisfying the resulting achievements, we must guard against a foolish complacency. Human thought is still young. The painfully won acquisitions of an ancestry of hundreds of thousands of years have been the essential prerequisite to the splendid progress of the last few thousand years. During even that limited period the interruptions have been frequent, but conditions are now such that we may fairly hope for a continuous development for many ages to come, always provided that degeneration does not follow improper dependence upon past achievement. We must grasp firmly, however, the greatest truth our science as yet has taught us,—that our reliance must be courageously upon ourselves and not cowardly upon the supernatural.

The evolution of science itself again suggests the possibility that, while we are moving forward to a greater mundane security and enjoyment, we are also, in a mysterious way, moving backward to the light from which all things issued. While philosophy and science, in relation to material things, are to-day far in advance of anything that antiquity knew, their greatest concepts are

those of abstract origins and ends. In modern music too we have reached heights undreamed by the ancients, and heights so sublime as often to tempt us to believe that, if we cannot rely on its wordless language and unreasoning logic, we may still find in it a comforting suggestion of supernal harmonies underlying all being. Ethical progress also, as we shall see, suggests mysterious consonances and cosmic purpose. We have to-day, in a world of evolutionary war, at least the scant beginning of a general altruism, justifying more than ever hopeful visions of a remote Utopia where there will be no longer lions to threaten lambs.

Whether such visions and concepts really express improving values in any absolute sense, whether they mean more than the temporary pastimes and evanescent hopes of certain little human mortals that for a moment inhabit this insignificant sphere is an unanswerable question; but certainly no truly scientific man can feel called upon to criticize a faith in their abiding worth. That faith may be merely the product of desire. Perhaps men are deluding themselves. Perhaps the cynic is right who sneers at that natural optimism which he deems at once the evolutionary cause and product of the race's persistence. But even from that point of view a philosophy of hope may not be condemned, since it makes for happiness and progress. Pessimism tends to race suicide, but that, in the absence of catastrophe, the race will continue, few scientists will be heard to deny.

The philosophic pitfall to avoid is that, in which, alas, too many fine minds have slipped, of attempting, in the search for a favorite cosmic system, to travel beyond the limits of true science and beyond the powers of finite mind. The suggestion of the philosophy of optimism cannot run this risk, when coupled with the warning of these restrictions and the argument of a profound expediency. While

some men may need no such faith, philosophers cannot rest content in the acceptance of the apparent as the real. But are not the minds of philosophers really of a more exalted type than those of common mortals?

## CHAPTER XV

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHICS

**I**F a genius like Shakespeare or Newton, wandering in the jungle, his great conceptions forming but still unuttered, were to meet a starving lion which devoured him, conceptions and all, the action of the beast certainly could not be termed immoral. It would be but following the primal instinct of a self-preservative appetite. To persuade it to forego or postpone the immediate satisfaction of that appetite, one would first have to give it an understanding of the importance to the human race of the preservation of those priceless concepts, and even then the persuasion must fail unless the lion were convinced also of an indirect good to be derived by itself from human improvement. The intelligence of the lion would have to be very highly developed indeed before it would listen with patience to the suggestion that in some way the sparing of the genius would conduce, even if to its own death, to the advantage of future lions. And if the argument were attempted that it should sacrifice the whole race of lions in favor of the development of the superior race of men, the acceptance of that argument would defeat it, since thereby it would be proved that the lion's intelligence and moral sense had reached a much higher development than that of men. To abandon this striking, if strained illustration, if we suppose the genius to have met, during his jungle dreaming, a starving cannibal instead of a lion, we may say that the cannibal, like the lion, has committed no moral offense in feasting on the genius, assuming the

absence of law or public opinion and of a mentality in the cannibal equal to comprehension of the desirability of immediate self-control for future and higher enjoyment. In other words, conduct cannot be said to be moral or immoral until, in the course of evolution, reasoning creatures are developed able to determine duty in the light of individual and race advantage and to follow or disregard those norms or laws established by experience.

The struggle for existence is cruel. How cruel, may be glimpsed from the fact that even in these boasted days of civilization men derive an important part of their sustenance from slaughter. With animals lower than men, life is little else than a continuous and fear-driven struggle to conquer living food and in turn to escape devourment. Thousands and thousands of every species must perish for every one that is able to live and perpetuate those qualities which favored survival.

In this struggle, that life which seems to distinguish the organic from the inorganic, that activity which enables the living to adapt itself to external conditions, is from the beginning engaged in the process of determining courses of conduct, courses having no reference, however, except among men, to other end than survival. To be sure, in the lower forms, that determination is automatic or instinctive. Those creatures in which the ordinary, external stimuli cause a reflex action suited to survival in the circumstances are those which persist. In forms somewhat more advanced, where no such thing as consciousness has yet developed, but at best a dim awareness, the reflex is assisted by or has become inherited instinct, which is a form of race habit or memory of previous gratification. The data of knowledge needed by the animal for mere self-preservation are brought to it, as its organs grow more and more complex, not only by direct contacts, but by those wave-like motions in the surrounding media, like sound and light, which



enable it to sense its food and its enemies while still at a distance. Then comes full consciousness and the instincts are aided by a less automatic choice of preservative conduct. Finally in man we reach self-consciousness and reason, and with them morality, the selection of conduct conducive, not only to personal survival, but to that gregarious well-being which at once protects and improves the individual and demands individual inhibition for the general good.

Millions of years before that stage was reached, one kind of gregarious morality, based, not on reason, but on instinct, had been attained. This was parental love, the prerequisite to everything since it preserved the race. The instincts had to operate before reason was attained. Side by side with the selfish and predatory habits which preserved individuals, developed that unselfish devotion, even among beasts low in the scale, which is necessary to the preservation of their young. We have seen that in the simplest life forms progeny comes by the unconscious and uncontrollable destruction of the parent. In higher forms, the young in their egg need attention and hatching, and in still higher, increasing care even after hatching. In some forms, the young begin an independent existence almost immediately after release from the egg; in more advanced ones, they require increasingly longer the care of the parents, at least of the mother, until in the human race we see the greatest duration of that necessary devotion. Here too the parent is permitted to survive by a long period the birth and the maturity of its children.

Even this parental instinct could not have survived were it not that its exercise affords satisfaction to the parent. Those species tended to survival which enjoyed it, and race habit did the rest. Warm cuddling must have been a very early gratification. The parental habit must have been so early developed and thus so strongly en-

trenched in habitual instinct as to render the forgoing of its apparent unselfishness a greater pain than any that could result from its indulgence. Just as the sex impulse is utilized more for instinctive gratification than consciously for reproduction, so the care of the young, we may be sure, was originally solely selfish, a function attended with profound organic pleasure.

Ethical conduct based on reason first developed among savages from the necessities of gregarious living. Whether such living was initially due to an ancient inherited instinct or whether men rationally decided upon its great advantage in the life struggle, that mode of living once adopted, it must have become immediately apparent that individual desires must be to some extent controlled in the interests of the aggregation. Murder and mayhem, and then theft, must have been the first wrongs set up by men. As they developed from the more extreme forms of savagery and began to appreciate the racial good inherent in family life, adultery too must have appeared as a wrong. Indeed, it must have been early recognized as a kind of theft from the head of the family, becoming more serious as the love for and pride in progeny increased. These early wrongs together with subsequent additions were discouraged by the creation of laws, civil and religious. The ancestral god forbade their perpetration, the priest king and his later successors sternly denounced them under heavy penalties, and finally the general sense of public opinion reprobated them. This latter potent force included within its condemnation, moreover, wrongs not yet recognized or with difficulty reachable by the State.

Men soon learned that their truest security against each other lay in the reciprocal good behavior of the golden rule. Open breach was punishable by the public authority or universal disapprobation. We shall presently

see how in highly developed characters good behaviour becomes from long practice a habit whose violation causes pain greater than the deprivation of perpetration even in an assured secrecy and immunity.

While men were early able to recognize the wrong of murder, theft or adultery, it took a very long time before they realized how injurious to the welfare of the community, and, therefore, necessarily of its individual members, was the practice of the less serious vices, such, for example, as lying. That among ancient as among modern savages was hardly a vice at all. In fact, a clever liar was often regarded as an object of praise rather than of reprobation, and not only among savages. In the Homeric and even later Greek writings, we find successful lying an admired talent, and in the Bible we are more than once startled to note that liars are not barred from the favor of Jehovah. The later condemnation of falsehood is the result of ages of experience of the evil that must attend the inability of men to trust their fellows. One of the most convincing evidences of the utilitarian origin of morality is the differentiation of its standards, at least as to minor wrongs, among different peoples and at different eras. Things which are regarded as virtues by some nations are regarded as vices by others, and habits which at one period are respected are in others condemned.

Nevertheless, there has been a steady development always directing itself toward ethical standardization. We need only mention polygamy, which, in early history, including even the Biblical, was generally regarded as natural and proper, and in later times, while gradually abolished in the western world, was well-nigh universal in Mohammedan countries until the present agitation even there for its abolition. Whether the vice in it was found to be economic or its injustice to women and progeny, the fact to be noted is that it fell under the reprobation of

laws and opinion so soon as men decided that it did not conduce in the long run to racial benefit.

While subject sometimes to fierce opposition, generally on the part of the orthodox dogmatists, the doctrine of the foundation of ethics upon the evolutionary experience of racial advantage may now be said to be quite generally accepted. Men call moral that conduct which their experience has determined in the long run to be conducive to happiness, and immoral that which operates in the opposite direction. Of course, some who do not think deeply may still, now and then, be found to combat this view and even to regard as immoral a philosophy which tests conduct by its pleasurable results. The ascetic religionist adopting that opinion condemns the pursuit of worldly happiness as sensual and wrong, and summons as a crowning protest those noble instances, with which history is happily replete, of heroic self-sacrifice. Such an opinion assumes that by happiness must necessarily be meant only sensuous happiness. One of that school within the last half century has advanced, as the test of conduct, blessedness instead of happiness. This is a distinction without a difference; for what he meant by blessedness was that highest happiness which comes from forgetfulness of self, and which, as we shall presently see, emerges as a desirable end from the evolutionary process. Perhaps someone some day will write the impossible but instructive story of a young man of supreme intelligence who decides to lead in the society of his fellow men a life of utter selfishness, only to find, as the result of bitter experience, that ultimately he will have adopted a code of conduct in nowise different from that existing in the most advanced communities. But that experience, like that of the race, must be a very wide one.

The great motives which make for virtue are fear of the law and of public opinion, love of praise and dislike of



disapprobation. A man is not happy if punished or if in fear of punishment, nor when he sees in the eyes of his fellow men dislike and aversion. But approbation and praise are sources of delight. Fictional literature corroborates common experience in its attestation of the strength of the love of that respectability which men enjoy as the reward of conformity to customary standards. In the course of the vast experiences of a lifetime and the immeasurably vaster ones of the race, there have been fixed in human nature and expressed in almost automatic action through the stupendous force of the psychologic law of individual and inherited habit, those tendencies to virtue, born of the above likes and dislikes, which ultimately and surprisingly create standards even of the most altruistic type.

To say that there are no men free from petty vices is only to call attention to human imperfection. But it is probably also true to say that, even with respect to more serious wrongs, the vast majority have not yet developed a pure virtue. Most indeed are respectable, but only because the deterrence of threatened punishment or disgrace is fully operative. Far fewer are those able to refrain from vice cloaked by an assured security. Many a man of respectability, sufficiently tempted, would steal if the opportunity presented itself under circumstances of certain immunity from detection. Still in the more advanced societies there surely must be very many, even at the present stage of evolution, who would find such a course impossible. The reason is that the gratification of even their utmost need could not weigh for a moment against the agony of a violated mental habit. The strength of such a habit, individual and ancestral, and of pride in it, is so great as to bring into operation also the fear of remorse, which, in a highly developed mind, is the pain of the irretrievable surrender of prized to despised motives.



Again, while there must be many men who, quite capable of heroic conduct under the eyes of approving observers, would be equally capable of cowardly shirking in an inglorious solitude, there must be also many who would selflessly follow to the end the ideal created by their own and an ancestral nobility. To such men the betrayal of that ideal would be a torture far outweighing the grosser satisfaction of escape; or rather one that they would never even be tempted to measure. If, in a moment of weakness, a man of this type falls, he is forever gnawed by the remorse which follows the loss of high opportunity.

The struggles of the race have favored the ultimate attainment of the heroic types. Many have been the dangerous situations calling for a champion, at whatever risk to himself, to exhibit, under the approving eyes of the less worthy multitude, those qualities of courage and devotion whose reward was not only public approval but leadership, with the attendant satisfaction of the emotions of pride and love of power. Surely these were worth even the risk of destruction, in preference to a monotonous and ignoble existence boasting no pleasures higher than those of physical security and satiety. And if sometimes, and increasingly often in the course of the centuries, a noble course has been followed regardless of reward, even that of the refined satisfaction of the exercise of beneficial power, the reason for it may convincingly be found in character,—the formed mental habits of heroic souls. For such, the doing of the self-forgetful act becomes a joy in itself, and its evasion, death. Not that, even with the less fine natures, in the quick action required in the decision between opposing courses of conduct, all the elements are always consciously calculated. The action of the moment is that compelled by long established habit.

And this leads us to some examination of the law of habit. When an infant learns to walk or an adult to swim,

he finds the process difficult. His whole attention is concentrated upon the necessary muscular co-ordination. But when that co-ordination has been frequently repeated, it becomes habitual and is never forgotten. In fact, so perfect does it ultimately become that the mind, which at first was painfully concentrated upon its acquisition, is now perfectly free, while performing the act of walking or swimming, to think of other things. It has become an automatic habit. It is the same with our moral habits.

The victim of a long established bad habit knows well enough, by the difficulty in overcoming it, how mechanical its action has become. Convinced though he be of the boon of its conquest, he finds the destruction of its set action well-nigh impossible. Such is the natural indolence of our energies, such the strength of wonted physical processes, that the cure of a long continued habit in the young, however alluring the reward may be, is generally difficult; in older people, all but impossible. Bain has laid down the rule for cure to be the creation of an ardent enthusiasm for the suppression of the habit, together with the determination never to permit a single exception to its abandonment. The latter is the more important element, because, so powerful is the organic tendency, that the exception brings out the chained passion the stronger for the restraint, and also because of the consequent despair.

Just as the co-ordinated muscular and nervous processes involved in walking or swimming become automatic, so our minds work with greater rapidity and ease along those lines to which they have been inured. Like a muscle, the habit grows with exercise. In the beginning, it takes effort for numerous mental elements to be associated to form one union of concepts and active desires. The effort is less or almost nothing, when the habit is the indulgence of a race instinct or appetite by the removal of prudential inhibitions. But, whether the association be

easy or difficult, once it has been frequently compelled or permitted, it becomes permanent and is set up automatically upon the proper stimulus. Thereafter, the inhibition of the complex or of its natural vent in action becomes highly painful, while its habitual activity, like a torrent, is apt to overwhelm the prudent bar of opposing motives.

An excellent illustration of this important truth is found in George Eliot's novel "Romola" in the act of Tito Melema in denying his foster father, Baldassare, when so suddenly confronted by him as to have no time for reflection. Melema had arrived in Florence in possession of his benefactor's treasure, with the clear duty of sparing no pains to find and ransom the poor old man from his slavery. We are told of the considerations which, one after the other, passed through his weak mind in the never strong and ever lessening struggle between a difficult, dangerous and uncertain task and the life of ease which he finally chose. The result, through the constant surrender to the viler of the conflicting motives, was the formation of a habit of egoistic outlook, the formation of a base character. Now Melema knew that his father's nature included, with many virtues, revengeful resentment of wrong. On reflection, after his treacherous repulse of the loving old man, he saw clearly how easy it would have been, upon his father's sudden appearance, by a course of tactful falsehood, to re-establish amicable relations and to continue the course of his ambitious and pleasant life. Under the excitation of the unexpected appearance, however, reflection being barred, the force of his mental habit, like a torrent, broke down prudence, so that the verbal denial that ultimately meant death burst forth as the living evidence of the mental denial so often uttered in his thought and in his external relations. Apart from the trouble of the quest, Melema did not really wish to see his father. If love and gratitude or ordinary humanity had

been cherished in habitual thought and expressed in the endeavor of rescue, the sight of his father, however inopportune, would have resulted in an outburst of affection and joy as uncontrollable as, in the actual case, was its opposite.

This vital point is also brought out in Stevenson's "Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." Dr. Jekyll was a scientist proud of his respectability, which, however, did not prevent a moderate, secret indulgence in vice. He discovered a drug which had the amazing quality of converting its addict into a being entirely good or entirely bad. Had he taken the drug in a reverential spirit, he would have become an angel. But his covert desire was to practice his vices in the disguise of the emergent monster, thus protecting the respectable Dr. Jekyll. The consequence was that, when he first imbibed the drug, he was transformed, after protracted convulsions, into a light-footed dwarf, entirely evil. The torture of the metamorphosis symbolizes the strenuousness of the first combat between the two sets of conflicting motives, and the dwarf-like size of Hyde, the fact that evil was yet the smaller part of Jekyll's nature.

So piquant were the base enjoyments of the released demon, no longer restrained by the inhibiting voices of the other motives of Jekyll's reasoning conscience, that the drug was used repeatedly, by the Doctor to enjoy the vices of Hyde, and by Hyde to become Jekyll again in order to escape the consequences of his crimes and to preserve the Doctor's necessary activities. Jekyll soon found that Hyde became larger and larger, that it took ever increasing quantities of the drug to convert him into the gentle Jekyll, and that smaller and smaller doses were required for the opposite change, which moreover was becoming constantly less painful, while the other was attended by almost unbearable torture. At last the mon-



ster's soul was shaken with fear and horror when, having retired one night as Jekyll, he awakened, not having used the drug, to find himself involuntarily converted to Hyde.

When Jekyll was himself again, he meditated deeply upon his situation. It became evident to him that, unless he was to permit the evil side of his nature entirely to conquer him, he must strongly decide never to take the drug again. Fear was a strong motive for this decision, to which, however, contributed the facts that good was still the larger part of him and that he still valued the respectability and usefulness of his life as Dr. Jekyll. He had taken the drug in the first instance as a lark, fondly supposing he could indulge his baser parts in this novel disguise and become the respectable scientist again when he wished. He was now face to face, however, with the invariable law of habit. The situation, robbed of its symbolism, was that in the beginning, the motives for good and evil having been arrayed against each other, the latter had prevailed, they had thus become increasingly strong in each subsequent conflict, and, the victory having been successively repeated, had ended by the formation of a habit that operated automatically and could be only conquered by strenuous effort.

Though the Doctor finally decided never to take the drug again, he must have made an unconscious reservation, for he neither destroyed Hyde's clothes nor the separate home maintained for him. The natural result followed. He took the drug again with the "only once" of the weakling. He made the "exception" forbidden by Bain's law. The facile and pleasing working of the evil complex had, by deliberate choice, been cruelly dammed. Persistent strength in that choice would have ended in the disintegration of that complex and the establishment of a healthy new one functioning with the far greater joy of an organic activity free from protesting conscience.



But that strength was absent, and the removal of the resented inhibition upon a ravenous appetite caused the devil to emerge fiercer than ever. The result was now a murder committed by Hyde and the consequent interjection into the situation of a new motive, the fear of execution.

Animated by that fear, Jekyll again resolved, and most strongly, never to take the drug again. His vicious tendencies were now so voracious, however, that later he was weak enough, not indeed to take the drug, but to indulge his vices in the form of Jekyll, that is, moderately. Again he made the fatal exception. He overlooked the fact that what is exercised must grow. Thus, to his horror, he found himself one day in a public place becoming Hyde without the drug. In fear he fled to privacy and took the large dose necessary for the painful conversion to Jekyll. But now he discovered that he had become the slave of an incurable malady. He was constantly becoming Hyde involuntarily, while he found it all but impossible to make the reverse transformation. The larger and larger doses needed for safety were finally unprocurable through the exhaustion of an ingredient, and the tragedy ends with the suicide of the fear-stricken Hyde.

Such is habit, and such the almost inexpugnable strength of wonted processes! It is not surprising, then, that the experience for thousands of years of the expediency of virtue ends in an habitual practice strong enough in many cases to defy even the occasional opportunity of secret and immune indulgence. The history of civilization is really the history of the development of habits. Institutions are the product of physical, mental and moral usage. When error is discovered, the great effort for change is that required for the eradication of habitual processes. The saving conservatism of men is at once the recognition of the worth of age-old, slow and

tried adaptation and the fear of the destructiveness of radical surgery applied to the intricate connections of the erroneous process. Such processes are not only individual. They have become race memories, instincts. Their reactions have often become the automatic reflexes of ancient and inherited experience.

But the race is still young and its moral evolution correspondingly imperfect. To take one example, the evils of falsehood have long since been demonstrated and yet it is a vice still prevalent, absent only in the highest types. In fact, it may be doubted whether any human being has yet advanced to such virtue as to be free from prevarication, not in its crudest form, of course, but in that of the exaggeration and coloring of bias. Absolute truthfulness will be attained only with the habit of precise and unemotional statement.

Thus is it with all virtues. In the case of some men and women, we can generally predict the preference of a moral over an ignoble course of conduct even when the temptation is great. This is because they have character, a settled habit of virtue. Whether it be the instruction of their youth, the result of their experience, including the reading of improving literature, the inheritance of their ancestry, or the natural choice of a proud intelligence, a base, however tempting choice becomes impossible; but only, as all who are candid with themselves must admit, through the strength of the long established moral habit. Many who see this clearly in trivial matters still indulge the delusion of a supernatural agency operating to produce a truly selfless heroism.

A mother, for example, sees her infant about to drown. No help is near. She herself cannot swim. Following an irresistible urge of love and pity as she sees the dear little face sinking beneath the waters, she leaps after it and both are drowned. Some see in such an act of absolute self-

forgetfulness, however futile, a supernatural element unrelated to natural and evolutionary law. And yet such an act may be an immoral one. The mother doubtless has duties to other children and to husband and to herself. Her futile sacrifice, reasonably viewed, becomes then the selfish indulgence of a deep-seated instinct that imperatively demands gratification. It is thus immoral unless the impulsive flood has so dammed the other mental processes as to prevent for the moment any illumination by that examining reason which we term conscience. In that case the woman cannot be condemned, except perhaps for the prior development of that kind of mind. Reason and conscience being inoperative, she was to all intents and purposes insane. But in any event we lose sight of the wrong of her heedless obedience to the instinctive habit in our admiration for the habit itself, that is for the beautiful, self-regardless emotions that in the course of aeons of evolution had been so marvelously developed as for the moment to obscure not only the sense of duty to others but even the instinct of self-preservation.

We have a similar illustration of the point in the conduct expected of men when involved with women and children in a common danger; for example, on a sinking steamer. For ages it has been customary, and not at first particularly unselfish, for fighting men, exposed at all events in the first line of risk, to make the safety of the non-combatants an important consideration. Soon their love and pride became engaged in this sacred custom as in the best interest of the tribe. Thence naturally developed the unwritten law of priority of rescue. That law of the sinking steamer imposes quite a test upon masculine courage. Some of the less developed characters, following the strong self-preservative instinct, rush in panic to violate it. Others refrain from that disgrace, motivated by fear of forcible prevention by other and braver men.

Still others may so refrain, not influenced by fear of immediate punishment or by that fear alone, but by that of a dreadful public disapproval, if they should succeed in saving their wretched lives, to which in some cases may doubtless be added a vague anticipation of the anguish of remorse. But finally, among the men who choose to go down with the ship, there must be many who calmly die in this manifest performance of duty, without question or misgiving. Such conduct is the result of training, of the whole preceding life, of character moulded in the firm matrix of virtuous habit. To a mind thus schooled to noble action, to a soul thus informed with the spirit of aspiration, the baser course would be more painful than the sacrifice of life.

There have been cases where men have made the supreme sacrifice for what some will deem less weighty reasons. Men have died painful deaths as martyrs to truth, in preference to a false recantation. Condemnation for religious heresy has been the chief occasion for this sacrifice. There the choice is easily explicable when one considers the strength of a devout faith, which embraces, moreover, the conviction that a pious death is the gate to heaven and a base one, the gate to hell. But what shall be said of cases like that of Giordano Bruno, who, without religion and, according to the common acceptance of his philosophy, with no belief in personal survival, died by fire rather than stultify his intellect by denial of the scientific truths in which he believed. Galileo escaped a similar fate by recantation. Much can be said in defence of the latter's course. His death was not necessary for the acceptance of the new discoveries. The mighty truths advocated by both were not impeded by his evasion any more than they were advanced by Bruno's martyrdom. They soon met general acceptance, even by the Church that had so cruelly persecuted their champions. Galileo might rea-

sonably look forward, in the rapidly changing times in which he lived, to further labors and even to further publication of results under more auspicious circumstances. Nevertheless, admiration for Bruno's course must be unbounded. Not merely because of his heroic courage, but because of the passionate love of truth which redeems it from foolhardiness. He preferred to perish rather than bend to an unintelligent tyranny. Or rather his mind was closed to all other feelings than an invincible repugnance to utter, and on the compulsion of a despised ignorance, what he believed to be the opposite of the truth. Any one who can appreciate the joy and aspiration of the scientific quest can supply the explanation for such conduct in the adamant strength of the high mental habit that has been formed by the sincere labors of a lifetime. Probably to Bruno no pain seemed equal to that of the frustration of his habitual mode of direct action or the betrayal of his glorious successes.

Such reflections afford the most convincing answer to those who have deemed even the most refined form of evolutionary utilitarianism an insufficient explanation for the nobler virtues. Some, indeed, while recognizing the sufficiency of that explanation for all else, while even conceding the wide variance in moral standards among different peoples and in different ages, deem a supernatural principle to be necessary to account for that feeling of obligation, common to all times and to all humanity, which impels the pursuit of the right course once it has been ascertained. Modern psychology renders this opinion no longer tenable. The strength of the sentiment of duty, of "oughtness," as against a natural, apparent self-interest, is sufficiently explained by the stable and complex mental associations which, in a highly developed nature, form its ethical habits. To cut the numerous and delicate tendrils of such associations is cruel mutilation.



A curious illustration of those complex mental associations and habits which determine human motives and ethical standards, is the vicarious satisfaction that an aging parent frequently derives from the youthful pleasures of its children. This sometimes begins in the self-interest of an otherwise stunted life, but has been known to reach heights of self-regardless sacrifice. It is true that the parental devotion often so unites itself to the object of its interest as to demand, with a supreme selfishness proportioned to the extent of the union, an identity of the aspirations and activities of the two personalities. Nevertheless, it is probably true that generally the development of this peculiar vicariousness is toward the noblest form of self-abnegation.

This subject suggests a prevalent point of view which, while not directly material to the present discussion, deserves mention. That is the undue stressing of the superiority of the duty of parent to child over the reverse obligation. Present-day children frequently state, though it is impossible they really believe, that parents who, regardless only of sex gratification, brought them willy-nilly into this painful world, owe them everything, while they are entitled to a freedom unembarrassed by filial duty. Parents too have been known to support this shallow and decadent view. It is the expression of a pessimistic and cowardly philosophy. It constitutes a plea for race suicide. It argues that the pains of life and the fear of death are sufficient to make of procreation a crime. The opposite view, which has in its favor the experience, the practice and the evolutionary improvement of countless centuries, is that life is a beautiful adventure well worth all its pains. This is the philosophy of courage. It accepts the reasonable indulgence of natural instincts as expressive of an underlying purpose and the cherishing of progeny as an altruistic contribution to the fulfilment of that pur-

pose. It regards the giving of life and opportunity as a precious boon worthy of gratitude. These two philosophies may contend. Some may even argue that the universal, practical acceptance of the optimistic is due solely to the strength of the erotic instinct. But, accepting the fact that pusillanimity will never produce or even seriously advocate race destruction, that philosophy which commands a courageous outlook on life and death and the reciprocation of the delightful sentiments of love and gratitude usually developed in family life, must at least be accepted as better adapted to a progressive evolution.

It is a curious reflection that if men had never developed altruism, that is to say, if they had remained beasts, the struggle for existence would have meant for them nothing other than physical survival and the unscrupulous indulgence of every selfish means to insure that paramount end. Civilization, for good or for ill, would have been impossible. The same intelligence upon which it rests, demands morality. Social as distinguished from individual evolution insisted from the beginning, and thence onward with ever greater and greater frequency and emphasis, upon the suppression of purely selfish instincts and passions in favor of the general good. The surrender of immediate gratification was found to promise a future and better satisfaction; and the wrong or destruction of a fellow man to-day, one's own to-morrow. Civilization has been built upon a foundation from which has been first removed the sapping influences of unreasoning self-indulgence. How lost to all sense of proportion, to all true knowledge, then, are those greedy and shallow minds who, impatient of the labors and restraints of a true and happy culture, seek for happiness in a return to primeval savagery,—in the removal of the age-old inhibitions imposed at once by governmental authority and by public opinion.

Perhaps the most wonderful, single phenomenon in the

course of evolution is that which exhibits to us a self-control, originally painful, developing ultimately, under the law of habit, into a clear and superior pleasure. Men socially united found the give and take of mutual aid beneficial. Even a strong mind adapted to survival may become momentarily weak. The aid then extended to him by brother creatures may at first excite only an interested gratitude, but it evokes at least the reciprocation of expectant profit, and ultimately the warm sentiment that, curiously enough, finally evolves from the practice of virtues, however originally mechanical. The weaker children and the aged and infirm of a primitive society were often left to die. But as men's imaginations developed and they became capable of picturing from their own experiences the sufferings of others and their own in a possible future, the beneficent acts of a perhaps interested sympathy, strange to say, called into being the emotion of pity, which demanded gratification. Charity, even when initially selfish, ultimately found a pleasure in the doing.

It is true that the succor of the weak and helpless sometimes does not operate to the physical advantage of the race, but a high culture demands not only physical, but intellectual and emotional development. And this development may operate, from altruistic practice, not only on the donor, but on the recipient, and through him on all men. The battle is no longer to the physically strong alone or even to the mentally practical. A weak body or visionary intelligence may be the dwelling place of a soul whose genius may produce priceless gifts for all future generations.

Altruism is justified, too, as a human end from the viewpoint of an intelligent self-interest by another remarkable fact, which reason accepts and experience proves, that happiness is not for him who assiduously seeks it but rather for him who forgets self. Happiness

lies in the facile and healthy exercise of our physical and mental processes. Introspection tends to derange those processes. A joy scrutinized dies. A joy sought in defiance of a self-forgetful duty never is born. A too curious measurement of pleasures and a too absorbed expectancy prevents the exuberance of real delight. A man may indeed and legitimately enjoy a good dinner or a game of golf, but if such enjoyment be sought deliberately to the disregard of altruistic obligation or necessary labor, the quest will fail. If the man be intelligent, such pleasures, moreover, will pale before the delight of intellectual solution, work achieved, or the creation of happiness in others.

The marvelous development even now attained by altruism among a noble few is the great promise of the future. But, unless controlled by intelligence, even altruism may become a vice. Ethical conduct needed at first, not only the sanction of the intelligence that produced it, but the sanctions of the governmental, religious and social penalties. It will still need some of those sanctions for very many centuries to come, but increasingly, it is hoped, intelligence will become the essential guide. It alone will show us the proper bounds even of unselfishness. It will show us that the finest spirit of self-denial must be conditioned upon a large amount of precedent self-regarding conduct. The first condition of deeds for others is the pursuit of an intelligent self-interest. A prudent care of one's own personality and property alone enable one to be companionable and helpful. The growth of wisdom will at once restrain maudlin renunciation and stimulate helpful generosity. That growth too will eventually satisfy all that among more highly developed men the right is followed, not only because of penalties, but because of the highly evolved spirit of *noblesse oblige*. That cardinal doctrine of Jewish ethics that we shall do unto others as we would have them do unto us, or, to amend it slightly,



as we can reasonably desire them to do unto us, is the ideal toward which that spirit is striving. Kant puts it that we shall so act that we can reasonably desire our conduct to become a universal rule.

In the development of ethics we have seen again a natural progress to values that seem to us of absolute worth apart from mere human advantage. But in this case the phenomenon is more striking and appears more profoundly significant than ever. The purely selfish struggle for adaptation finally reaches the stage where that adaptation is best secured by unselfishness. The inscrutable Power working and immanent in Nature develops mentalities and conduct, as it develops physical forms, to a greater and greater complexity, productive in each case of more spiritual action. Just as we have seen intelligence in the most complex animal reach the point where it turns upon mother Nature herself and attempts to chain and control her, and just as we have seen the historic development of an intellect, no longer confined to material conquests, evincing the greatest joy when forming immaterial concepts and seeking penetration into the genesis of things, so now we have learned that conscience reacts upon the very forces that evolved it in materially disinterested alleviation of their destructiveness. Again it seems that we are traveling, far onward indeed, but still approaching, in the material advance, things of such unworldly beauty, as to tempt the belief that the journey is but bringing us back to a mystic and ideal origin. We find we cannot succeed in grasping selfish joys without first becoming unselfish. We cannot attain real satisfaction without attaining heroism. Strike a chord and the physical vibrations may produce spirit dreams. Develop in the natural self-seeking of the evolutionary process, and martyrdom may become a joy. Have these mystic consonances no significance?



Whether altruism has any true superiority to selfishness, whether there is any absolute standard, apart from what, strangely enough, we find to be self-interest, by which the noble sacrifice of a hero is superior to the selfish sensuality of a beast, may be debatable, but, as has been so often pointed out in other connections, there can be no manner of question that our strong and almost universal conviction of the supernal beauty of a generous virtue operates magnificently in the production of an exalted happiness incomparable with brute satisfaction. We are entitled to as firm a faith in the reality evidenced by these accumulating experiences as both the common man and the scientist have in the reality of an external world which they really know only in appearance. In fact, as we shall see, the reality of these soul reactions to fundamental harmonies is of a profoundly superior character to that of those external appearances which, under empiric analysis, are invariably shown to be misleading. The rich purple we can show to be a mental affection due to the very rapid motion of something. Motion and the something moved may also be clearly shown to be foreign to the mental effects produced. But those effects, the actual soul experiences, whether of the glorious purple or of a heart-moving symphony or of a selfless love or of a joy in the rational discovery of Divinity, are the truest realities we know. We shall now proceed to examine these propositions more closely.

## CHAPTER XVI

### PHILOSOPHY. THE RELATIVITY OF KNOWLEDGE

**T**HUS far in this book, the universe and its contents have, for the most part, been treated in the naive way in which men ordinarily regard them; but the most striking achievement of philosophy is that of having shown that things are not as they seem. Philosophy, until a comparatively recent time, has consisted mainly of attempts to pierce the veil of appearance in the effort to reach and know the absolute realities supposed to underlie phenomena. By this time it has effected another great achievement in showing those attempts to be hopeless by any logical process. There is no limit to the possibility of penetration into the secrets of the physical world, that is, the world of appearances or phenomena, but mind, of course, cannot apprehend that, if anything, which causes those mental states which are all it can certainly know. Even assuming the existence of external causes, the mind can only really know the way it is affected by them. True knowledge of the causes in themselves is beyond its reach. And yet the impossible ambition is so elevating and the success so surprising and exciting in at least attaining the border-land between the knowable and the unknowable, and sensing the nature of the mystic problem, that philosophy has never entirely disowned that branch, more properly known as metaphysics, which has declined to abandon the original quest for those supernal verities which orthodox religion claims to reach by the short cut of revelation. In fact, positivistic philosophy, science, metaphysics and

religion find their reconciliation in their agreement as to the existence of the world-riddle.

Philosophy proper, as distinguished from metaphysics, regarding the solution as hopeless, is now directed to the unification of science, taking from each department its basic principles and endeavoring, as that course increasingly demonstrates the underlying monism, to combine them into those larger and larger generalizations which are gradually yielding some conception, however inadequate, of the harmony of the cosmos and the nature of its mystery. In this and the succeeding two chapters, the distinction between the viewpoint of science and philosophy on the one hand and metaphysics on the other will be clarified; and the inquiry made as to the extent to which even a positivistic philosophy may include among the cosmic facts, if not knowledge, a legitimate faith on the part of men in their share in a beneficent, mystic Reality.

When a human being perceives a rose, while he may have reason to believe that there is something outside of his mentality which impresses thereon a certain visual, tactual and olfactory picture, the real thing, if any, that creates the perception is manifestly beyond the reach of that mentality, which can know nothing beyond its own impressions. The knowledge of the rose is really relative in that it must be subject to the reservation that it is strictly confined to the mental picture. Assuming the external reality of the rose, assuming something to exist that causes in the mind the visual appearance characteristic of it, its odor, its feel upon contact, it is manifest that these sensations are in the mind and not in what is called the rose.

The sensations, whether of color, outline, odor or touch are intuitions; that is, they are the original data of knowledge, the form in which the mind, by its nature, reacts to the external stimuli. We are here constantly

assuming that these stimuli exist; that the rose and all other objects have a true being in a world external to the ego. The validity of this assumption will be examined in the next chapter. It is of course adopted by science, which, on that basis, since the time of Newton, has empirically demonstrated the external, physical mechanism itself by which the entirely different mental impressions or sensations are created. Let us first take the visual impressions for illustration.

Matter in its innermost atomic structure is set into violent activity, and in turn agitates into wave-like motion the ether, which is supposed to pervade all space, including the interstices of the atomic structure. Light, heat, magnetism and the phenomena of the modern radio are differing manifestations of this ethereal activity, probably differing only in the wave lengths. Thus, the radio waves may be miles in length, while those of heat and light are of infinitesimal shortness, reaching to unimaginable fractions of the smallest measurable quantities. All travel at the uniform rate of about 186,000 miles per second. Sound waves, which travel, not through the ether, but through the immeasurably coarser medium of air, travel less than a quarter of a mile per second. When the light waves, trillions of them per second, strike a material object, and are thence reflected to the ocular apparatus, the motion of certain of them transmitted through that apparatus and through the molecular particles of the optic nerve and brain is transmuted by the alchemy of that organ into the phenomenon which we know as light. The object is seen.

When rays of light, therefore, from the sun strike, for example, our rose, the undulations are reflected by the rose entity to the intervening eye, and thence carried to the brain. The picture there formed of color and visual outline is mental only and foreign to the ethereal motions

which, empirically, merely demonstrate the existence of something, the rose, which reflects them in a particular and characteristic way. The mind is not even examining the rose, but those cerebral changes produced by the assumed external activity. The cerebral changes themselves are assumptions. All we really know are the mental states.

The rays consisting of waves of a certain length vibrating at the rate, appropriate to that length, of so many trillions per second, are called red since they cause in us that sensation. Those of a shorter length, vibrating thus with a greater rapidity, are called violet, since they cause in us the sensation, violet, and so on. The composite of all the different rates of vibration is known as white light. Waves of certain lengths penetrate into some textures and lose their force in the creation of heat or otherwise. Those of such lengths as may not penetrate the particular texture are reflected from its surface to the observer. The red rose is of such a texture that all the waves are absorbed into it except those of such particular qualities of length and rate of vibration as, on reaching the cellular recesses of the brain, produce the particular mental impression or sensation of redness.

The forgotten materialist of a bygone age, when he had carried the analysis thus far, believed himself to have settled at least the question of the mechanical nature and mortal destiny of men. He conceived that thought processes had been proved to be the result of material agencies; consciousness and intelligence, in the same way the product of complex molecular motions of cerebral cells, as the motion of a locomotive is the product of the simpler molecular motions of steam. He was, or pretended to be, content with the fact that we know of no mental phenomena apart from such material motions. But there is, of course, no conceivable identity of a sensation, not



to speak of more intricate intellectual processes, with vibrations in ether, nerve or brain. The most that can be said is that these processes, so far as we are acquainted with them, never occur without the so-called material accompaniments, and that the impressions physically registered upon the brain substance are the only data from which human minds, whether regarded as themselves material or spiritual, can achieve knowledge. The brain and its wonderful treasure house of stored physical impressions may be merely the instruments used by the true mentality or soul; or the brain itself, as we shall presently see, may be regarded, like all other material things, as in its real essence immaterial.

The post-Renaissance thinkers early understood that color is a secondary and not inherent quality of matter, and hence is in the perceiving mind or subject and not in the object, but it was later shown that no perceived qualities are inherent in the object, all being forms of mental susceptibility. The odor of our rose is, of course, easily analyzable as a secondary quality, the mental impression of fragrance being an entirely different thing from the exhalations which cause it. The rose, however, in common with all matter, has also a certain resistance to touch; it has what we designate as *substance*. We touch it and we say there is *something there*. Likewise, to the senses of touch and muscular strain involved in the travel of the fingers over its surface, and to the sense of vision, which learns by experience to associate its pictures with the corresponding ones of touch, the rose appears to have the extension common to all substance. But the impression of a resisting force and of substance extended in space, the "something-there-ness," is entirely mental, being the form into which the crucible of the mind transmutes the force that is apparently acting externally to the thinker, but which in itself he can never know. If

one apply with his fingers pressure to a table, his mind apprehends that there is something there that gives him a certain impression of resistance, but all that he knows is this impression of a particular quality and degree. The feeling of resistance is not in the table but in him.

If an orange were to be held before the eye of a new-born infant, he could have little or no impression of the phenomenon except perhaps the vaguest idea of change from the previous state of its absence; and the mental condition could certainly contain no consciousness of externality, or even of a perceiving ego separate from the object perceived. If the orange were repeatedly to be moved away and restored to the line of vision, after a time the infant would notice the change; and even more so if the experiment included now and then the substitution of a red apple for a yellow orange. The first impression would be of difference. The infant would realize that there was something different between the red and the yellow, between one or the other being there and then not being there, but certainly he would have no conception whatever that the phenomenon was taking place outside of his own mentality.

After a while, however, he would discover that he had a will exercising a certain control over his own members, but none over the presence or absence of the apple or orange. He would become conscious of his own muscular movements. As his experience increased he would sooner or later discover that these movements belonged to his own ego and will, as distinguished from external egos and other external phenomena. And sooner or later he would note, when he felt such movements, for example, in his arms, that they resulted in contacts of arm and hand with objects other than his own parts. After many infantile experiences, he would in time discover such a contact of his hand when the visual appearance of the orange

was present, but which would be lacking when that appearance was absent; and he would finally come to associate with the visual impression the impression of contact and of roundness that he had when his hand made the circumference of the orange. He would also find that the visual impression of roundness and yellowness and the olfactory impression of the orange odor coincided with a certain tactual impression on grasping the orange, while different impressions would be associated with the apple contact.

It is needless to say that the space concept he would finally form would be that caused by muscular motion and later associated with certain qualities of perspective in vision. When he discovered that he could stretch his arm, or, later on, that he could drag himself along the floor in order to reach and touch the things that his eye saw, he would have received his first experiential knowledge of externality and of space, which would never leave him in all his after life. His conception of an external universe would be the product of the association or complex of innumerable sense impressions and memories; and it would be his invariable experience that his mind could have no conception of objects, of physical motion, of succession, in other words, of things and events, except in terms of time and space.

Such a complex as the orange or the apple is one soon attained in its totality, as is also, in a much more limited way, that of time and space, reached through the experiences of motion and sequence in attaining contacts. But objects at unreachable distances assist the conception of external vastness, which develops fully from our inability, due to experience invariable so far as it extends, to limit the theoretic, infinite potentialities of motion beyond any particular place. The child may see, but not touch the moon. He is certain that, if he could reach it, he would

still find space beyond. Visual and tactual impressions, strains and shocks, constitute our only direct knowledge of those modes of being termed matter, force, space, time and motion. Such knowledge is, therefore, relative only. If we could know what those modes of being are inherently, that is, if we could perform the impossible feat of knowing these things outside of the knowing mind, such knowledge would be real, actual, absolute. To attain it, we would have to become the things themselves, that is, a part of that Spirit which may project them.

Before carrying the inquiry further, it seems advisable, even at the risk of repetition, to endeavor to make the foregoing demonstrations of the relativity of knowledge clear beyond peradventure. A so-called red rose in an absolutely dark room is not red. It has no color whatever. A stone is not a stone unless there be a consciousness to feel its resistance or apprehend its visual or other sensuous appearance. A tree falling in a forest makes no noise unless there be a consciousness to hear it. These propositions are indubitable where the terminology is fixed.

The sound of the falling tree is, of course, caused by vibrations of air set in motion by the violent contact of tree and earth. These vibrations travel until they strike the drum of the animal ear, which transmits them, through the aural nerve, to the brain. The mind receives them as the sensation of sound. If we understand, therefore, by sound, not the physical vibrations, but the mental impression, there is, of course, no sound in the absence of an animal consciousness. The most we can say is that in the absence of such a consciousness there are air vibrations; but again there is no conceivable identity between the mental impression, sound, and air motions or brain motions.

In the same way, heat is a sensation caused by physical



motion. When a hand is thrust into hot water, the heat is not in the water but in the mind. What is in the water are again certain motions. Whether these are molecular vibrations or more profound electrical disturbances, the fact is that some physical motion is taking place resulting in vibrations of some order which are carried along the nerves until they reach the brain, where they are apprehended mentally as the sensation, heat. We even think of weight in terms of strain, because when we lift a body there is resistance, which again is, of course, merely our mental reaction to gravitational force, whatever that may be, as it manifests itself by motion in muscle, nerve and brain.

Thus we see that all phenomena reduce themselves, on empiric analysis, to motion. This motion is perhaps, to most philosophic minds, the most mysterious thing in Nature, although all things are equally wondrous and incomprehensible, since they are all the offspring of motion, or of those precedent energies which, never being absent where it is observed, we call its causes. Our attention has been hitherto directed, not so much to motion in the mass, but chiefly to those incredibly minute and rapid motions which take place in the molecular, atomic and electronic depths of matter and are apprehended in more subtle, though not more wonderful forms, such as those of light, heat, sound and the like. We are enabled to visualize these minute motions from our direct experience of mass motion, though they manifest themselves to us in such a completely different way. Both present the same profound enigma.

Perhaps the reader has seen a cue strike a billiard ball a thousand times without stopping to reflect and wonder at the strange result. A man contracts or elongates the muscles of his arm by the exercise of the mental phenomenon, intrinsically unknowable, named will. Answering



to the exertion of that will the cue strikes. So far as we know, the ball has had nothing added to it, no physical change of a material character has taken place in it, it weighs neither more nor less than it did before, but, answering to that mystic touch, it moves. In other words, will has transferred from the body to the ball something, the nature of which is absolutely unknown to us, but which we call energy. In the absence of the friction of the billiard table and of the gravitational pull of the earth and of other physical interference, we know that the ball would fly out into space and travel forever in the direction given it by the motion of the cue.

Since the time of Newton we know that any body hurled into space uninterfered with by the gravitational pull of another body or other intervening force will travel forever in its initial direction. If it be arrested by collision, the energy of the mass motion is converted into that of molecular heat, reaching under given conditions to chemical disintegration. The body has energy, the mysterious entity which manifests itself to us in so many forms, and without which nothing could be manifested. Under given conditions it transfers itself, by the exercise of what we call force, from body to body, imparting thereby a changed condition. We know that this energy or force is indestructible. It is evident that our knowledge of it and of the motion produced by it in apparent matter is relative only. Molar motion means nothing to us but the change in position of one body in relation to another. Atomic or molecular motion can be apprehended by us only in the form of such impressions as light or heat or sound or pressure or shock or the like. We symbolize it, in the world of the minute, as identical with the motion we know in ordinary experience, and the mathematical reactions in the main corroborate this view. But we know it only in sensations far removed from those inspired by

molar motion. We can identify it only as energy manifest in matter. A little reflection induces the conviction also that the matter moved is itself, in its last analysis, energy. We deduce this from the manner in which all our impressions of it, even those of extended substance, may be traced to phenomena of motion caused by the transfer of energy; and recent science seems to confirm this old deduction by its marvelous discovery of the true nature of the electrons which compose the atom. Those in their manifestations impress *us* as extended matter, but, even physically speaking, they are now seen to be perhaps in their essential nature unextended centres of force.

How deep the mystery of motion is can be made manifest by a few additional illustrations. A man may be walking rapidly west, but to an observer on an imaginary planet accompanying the earth on its orbital journey, but without other motion of its own, the man's velocity west being so small relative to that of his motion about the earth on its axis in the opposite direction, his travel would be clearly east and at a much greater velocity. To an observer on the sun, who would observe the effect both of the earth's axial and orbital travel, the man's motion would be of an enormously different appearance. To an observer on a hypothetic stationary body entirely outside the solar system, it would probably be apparent that earth and sun together are traveling at still another velocity in an entirely different direction. To such an observer, the walking man's other motions would be lost in the complex. But may it be said that in this restless universe there is any mass in absolute rest from which the man's actual motion could be determined? In other words, is there any such thing as actual motion, or is it an illusion, expressive only of the mental apprehension of the mode of action of a profound, under-lying energy?

Let the reader attempt, as well as possible, to conceive

himself, as a mentality, existing in an endless space from which all masses have been removed. To ask the mentality to fix a location in this emptiness would be a manifest absurdity. Any point must of necessity be the centre of infinity, and, in the absence of physical boundaries or other material objects within the space, on which to establish points of reference, there can be no question of location. If now there be inserted into this space a uniformly moving object, it would be true to state that to a disembodied mind, or better, to a man traveling on the object, and omitting from consideration its mysterious energy, it would be the same as if at rest; it could not be said to change position. The motion would be no more directly perceptible to the man partaking of it than is that of our own earth.

If other objects be now placed in space, the first might be said to travel, but the motion would be perceptible only by various changes of position in relation to them; and then it would be impossible for our observer on the first body to determine whether the motion was in it or the later ones or in all. He could not determine the actual motions unless himself assumed to be placed upon an absolutely stationary body; and if he were on such a body, there is no way in which he could know it. If there were an observer on each of the several bodies, all moving, each observer would be apt to deem his own at rest and the apparent motion, in the others, just as for vast ages men have actually and erroneously believed the earth stationary and the apparent motion solely in the heavenly bodies. Thus our knowledge of motion is purely relative, space also being conceived by us only in relation to the apparent extension and motion of masses.

Science has demonstrated that all known things are in motion. From mass to electron there is no rest. The atom and molecule are in ceaseless vibration, the electron

moves about its nucleus, the earth about its axis and about the sun, the moon about the earth, the sun with all its attendant satellites in a known direction, and every distant star or sun, with tremendous velocities, in unknown orbs. These motions are, for the most part, only known to us inferentially. They are not matters of direct experience. They are, nevertheless, the living evidence of the indestructible energy which everywhere pervades the universe and which we learn to know only relatively by the effects upon us of these so-called motions.

The mystery of this energy may be appreciated in still another way. When a fast-moving locomotive comes to rest, we know that its tremendous energy has not been destroyed, but has passed on into various forms of non-mass motion, such as the heat of friction. Nevertheless, we are not able to conceive how the transfer is made. Moreover, our unexceptional experience has been with finite and divisible quantities. We are accustomed to divide even space and time into arbitrary units which we think of as infinitely divisible. Hence it is difficult, if not impossible, as some believe, for us to conceive of the locomotive coming to rest without the attendant conception that between its original motion and the point of rest it must pass through every intermediate velocity. Although the velocities become smaller and smaller, each but a fraction of the last, still, it seems to us that there will always be some velocity, even though the most minute fraction of the preceding one. How then is it possible that there shall be ultimate rest? We see again that motion is but a relative manifestation and that we are really dealing, at least at the end, with a continuous and indivisible quantum of energy, in itself inscrutable, made apparent in motion as it translates itself from mass to atom, from atom to electron, from electron to mother ether.

Whether by the nature of our minds or our experience,



we are compelled to think of actual motion in space. Yet we cannot understand it. The genesis of the idea may be the age-old experience of motion relative to an apparently stable earth. Even now, when we know that the earth is moving, to us it seems stable, and motions on its surface therefore seem actual. In extra-mundane space, however, while we know of no stationary body, we seem compelled to believe in its theoretic possibility, or at least in the existence of an infinite number of imaginary stationary points of location, in relation to which bodies actually move. This latter notion, however, is entirely inconceivable. A point is a mere mathematical abstraction occupying no space and we cannot conceive of an infinite number of such points or even of a single one. To determine motion in reference to a point, the latter must be a physical point, that is, a mass or body. It has already been remarked that we know of no such body that is stationary, and that, even if there were such, it would be impossible for us to determine the fact. Motion cannot be progress really interrupted by points, material or immaterial. We cannot truly regard a moving body as at any particular point at any particular instant. Both point and instant are fictions. Even as the mind fixes the point or instant, the body moves beyond. If it did not, it would experience pauses of rest, cease to move. Thus motion is continuous and indivisible. If the apparent motion cease, the energy nevertheless persists in some form not apparent.

Motion cannot therefore be for us anything in itself. Mentally we know it only by its effects. Empirically, like matter itself, we can trace its manifestation to a basic energy. It is the same with its direct products, time and space. We have seen how those concepts, none the less mysterious from their persistent presence, originate from our natural mental reaction to the phenomena of matter in motion. Like everything else, we do not know them in



themselves. They are not even things that we can see or touch or perceive by any sense. Space is the form of the mental reaction to phenomena of extension and of motion, of matter's change of position. Time is the form of the mental reaction to sequence in the changes of mass position, perhaps also, in the process of thought, to molecular, cerebral motion.

We thus must be convinced that all our knowledge can be relative only; and we have learned this in two ways. In the first place it is indubitably manifest in the finality for us of our own mental states or pictures. But when we assume the objective existence of those things which seem to us to cause those pictures, and create on that assumption the universe of science, we are strangely able again to reach the same great truth by the scientific demonstration that one form of mental picture or phenomenon is reducible to another. Vision becomes apprehended ethereal motion. Hearing becomes apprehended air motion. All phenomena, under analysis, become the products of a fundamental energy. That energy is not and cannot be known by us except in the native forms of our consciousness. Those forms have no logical relation to the assumed external forces which evoke them.

We will not carry this analysis to the possible but more recondite conclusion that in the absence of consciousness, individual or cosmic, there is really nothing, further than to suggest the following inquiries. If everything in the world were to disappear, would it be possible to conceive of the supposed resulting emptiness as an entity, in the absence of anything with which to compare it and a mind to make the comparison? Place in this black emptiness a single object. Has it any existence except in the mind that placed it there, but which under the supposition does not exist? If it have any existence in itself, is any consciousness able to conceive of itself dead and the

object existing, except as it may appear in some other consciousness? Do we know or can we conceive of any existence except as it may be the subject or object of consciousness, the thinker or the thing thought? Add to the existence of this single object a disembodied, perceiving mind having in some mystic way the powers but not the members of our own organism. It perceives the object, but would there be space outside that occupied by the object itself, or time, in the absence of change in the object or in its position relative to another object, or in the absence of the mind perceiving those things? Is not mind the only reality we know?

From what has been said, it must be clear that the knowledge derived from our impressions and stored in memory is a knowledge of phenomena only, that is of happenings *in us*, concealing, in the very method of their occurrence, the reality or absolute, if there be such, which lies beyond them, and of which they are the relative reflection. The greatest mystery of all, however, lies, not in the complete concealment of the supposed realities or noumena, but in the fact that anything exists at all, that is, that something is and something happens. And in this mystery lies the hope of men.

Why should there be anything at all? The inquiry is not why, granted the existence of original materials, they should be gathered into the familiar forms which constitute Nature. The deep question is, why the materials? Why the existences or the intuitions of the space and time in which they manifest themselves? Why the intelligence that apprehends them? Philosophy, from its earliest date, has recognized this basic mystery in two forms, not only that of eternal Being, but the related one of motion in space and time, the perennial life and change and energy which characterize existence, the ceaseless Becoming. We have called these the basic mysteries. They

are such, particularly Being, in the sense that the *uncaused* fact is entirely beyond us. But Being, mystery or no, is such a fact! A glorious and all-promising fact! We may be supremely awed by our complete inability to understand it, but we must, with joy, accept it as indisputable. Since there is something, there never can be nothing.

The mere fact of existence is the fact of eternity. There is no conceivable time except in the animal brain in its metamorphosis of some mode of being involved in the changing phenomena of mystic energy. The universe exists for us only so far as mind extends, consisting only of subject and object, mind and so-called matter, the ego which apprehends and the phenomena extrinsic to and apprehended by it, but which it can only know in the form in which it apprehends them. The objective is necessary to it. Without something to apprehend, there can be no apprehension, no ego. Without a consciousness there can be nothing to apprehend. Without something to think about, there can be no thinker. Without a thinker, there can be nothing to think about. Given subject and object, ego and phenomenon, the wonder is there, eternal Being, unchanging and unchangeable. Matter and motion, time and space, express its ceaseless energy; they are but forms of finite apprehension of an inconceivable Reality. Given subject and object, there can be no such thing as nothing. Whatever is, is, but known only as it *appears* to that which knows. The appearances endlessly change, but the persistent and mystic Real is eternal. Given that stupendous fact, is there anything too difficult for men to believe or hope for?

## CHAPTER XVII

### PHILOSOPHY. PHENOMENON AND NOUMENON

**E**VEN the legitimate metaphysician is often a victim of a sense of universal illusion and the more so in proportion as the relativity argument appears to him conclusive. The conviction that all phenomena are but appearances is apt to make him feel that nothing about him is real and as though he were living in a world of phantasmagoria. This has in some thinkers produced the extreme of solipsistic systems of philosophy in which the ego is deemed the only reality and all else its dreams or modes of being.

These skeptic systems are based on the fundamental proposition of Descartes, whether genuine syllogism or self-evident truth: I think, therefore I am. At first thought this appears to be the only reliable datum of knowledge. If that be true, there can be no certainty of the existence of aught beyond the ego, and Nature becomes a dream. To erect a philosophy of existence other than that of uncontrolled phantasies, some further datum is necessary. Descartes himself added one of doubtful validity. It is proposed here to add that of the reality of the external world and to examine the validity of that addition. But first, in order to accentuate the hopelessness of a philosophy which depends solely upon the original proposition, even regarded as a more than verbal syllogism, it should be remarked that it is not logically conclusive.

Its major premise assumes the existence of an ego, but if we are not to be permitted to add any induction of

objective reality, there can be no ego, since, if it exists, it does so solely as the subject upon which objects act. If they are not real, personality itself becomes an illusion born of the apparent combination in one organism, itself a dream, of numerous modes of the supposed ego, which are really disconnected happenings, which may seem to be preserved in memories, but over the great majority of which the alleged ego has no control. Or, to shorten the profitless discussion, the assumption of a personal ego is really the assumption of the objective world which the skeptic pretends to deny. From his standpoint, the supposed syllogism might just as well read: It thinks, therefore it is. However, if its conclusion were accepted as the only real knowledge, either in its original form or, even more skeptically, in that just posited, all science and philosophy would become manifestly impossible. The laws of Nature would have to be regarded as imposed on the thinking substance by an external necessity, which contradicts the argument by the addition of that external power. The solution is that to the self-evident truth that something thinks must be added that objective existence of the extra-mental world which makes science and philosophy possible and the thinking something a true ego. The validity of that solution will now be examined.

If one deduces that, since all men are mortal and Socrates is a man, Socrates must of necessity be mortal, he is conducting a logical operation which, according to our mental constitution, must give truth. It will be observed, however, that the conclusion depends upon the two premises that all men are mortal and that Socrates is a man. But whence the premises? Granting them, the conclusion has for us an irresistible validity. If we cannot rely on it, we must abandon confidence in our reason, our sole and native instrument for the ascertainment of truth; but the necessary premises to logical processes cannot be



manufactured by them. The premises come solely from individual and race experience. They have no higher validity than that. The only original premise we have is the Descartes one of consciousness, and even that, in a sense, may be said to be or consist of experiences. All other premises are certainly experiential inductions.

Our confidence in the existence of an external world is based on such inductions. In the first place, phenomena occur independently of the will of the thinking ego. Inductively speaking, there are, therefore, other forces. There appear to be other individuals, other egos, the apparent exercise of whose wills causes mental reactions in the thinking ego and who must, therefore, according to our experience, have an independent existence. The impressions of a perceived, apparently external object, too, are vivid. Their reproduction in memory or idea is feeble in comparison. The very difference between seeing red and thinking red imposes the conviction of the true existence, in the first case, of the objective stimulus. Then, there is a persistence in phenomena and in their relationships one with the other, which inductively is highly probative of independent reality. Man finds certain phenomena repeatedly following others in a relationship to which his mentality reacts in the concept of cause and effect. The seemingly external experiences of the individual and the race repeat themselves with countless variations, but with that persistence in type and sequence and apparent causal connection which alone renders life possible.

If you place your watch in your table drawer to-day, you know, or at least have a faith, practically equivalent to knowledge, that in the absence of comprehensible causes, it will be there to-morrow. A marble dropped from a window will fall to earth to-day and to-morrow. The great mountain that you see in the distance to-day will be

there when you look from the same point to-morrow, and irrespective of your mood or will. You may command it to vanish, but despite your absolute, if unwarranted confidence, Jesus' teaching to the contrary notwithstanding, it will, fortunately for the rest of us, abide. In the last analysis, man owes his life in the surrounding universe to a justified faith in these inductions. What has been, throughout, fundamental human experience, man has an abiding faith will continue to be; and so far as authenticated records show, this faith has not been misplaced.

The old fable of the giant Atlas condemned to support upon his patient shoulders the weight of the world expresses a great truth. An inscrutable energy sustains the universe, manifests itself in every perceptible thing, in space, in time, in motion, and is even constitutive of the very matter that to our dull senses appears so crass and inert. It is not capricious. It does not change its moods and manifestations from moment to moment or ever. It is matter here. It is force there. And if it changes, it does so according to laws which, once learned, we find invariable. We do not fall down a pit to-day and up to-morrow. We do not find water quenching fire to-day and causing it to-morrow. If things were not so, if law in the phenomenal world gave way to caprice, if the sustaining energy were weakly fitful, the universe would crumble into ruins and life would be impossible. We are bound to think of this sustaining energy as strong, persistent and patient beyond the conception of men, like Atlas, never forgetting for a moment its task nor relaxing its infinite effort. It is owing to these indubitable facts, based, however, on no higher logic than invariable experience, that science and philosophy have been able to make their great progress.

We see, therefore, that in the last analysis those intellectual achievements of which men are proudest rest upon *faith*, and faith only; faith in the persistency of the

manifestations of God and the undeviating regularity of the cosmic process. And even as the common man must live his life practically with this faith in the reality of apparent and external things, subject persistently to uniformity and to law, so the scientist, even though with the mental reservation that, in themselves, he can never truly appreciate these realities, disregards this reservation and adopts as the basis of his work a faith in their external existence. He confines his investigations to phenomena and their relationships. He includes among them, of course, his own cerebral and psychic manifestations, as cognizable in their appearances and relationships until the possibility of absolute knowledge ceases as the inquiry approaches their inner nature and the examining ego itself. In other words, science assumes the common sense or vulgarian attitude with respect to the reality of Nature; and the pragmatic sufficiency of its explanations and the accuracy of its predictions triumphantly justify this attitude.

All of us then positively know our own existence and are convinced of that of external things. We know that we know the latter only as they appear to us, that is, as we think them. The first inquiry as to the legitimacy of true religion, as distinguished from the religion of magic, satisfies itself, therefore, by the justification in reason of our conviction of the actual existence of things in themselves or noumena and their merger in a unitary, infinite and absolute Power underlying that phenomenal one, operating under the same laws here as on the most distant star, which science is making so apparent. True religion can make no ridiculous pretensions to knowledge of the Unknowable, but perhaps may find basis in reason for a reverent faith in its humanly incomprehensible existence and in its relationship to the inquiring ego. Science has to do with the phenomenal only. She may ignore the

noumenal, but may never be heard to deny it. She too must bow before the impregnable ramparts which she was the first to discover. The final inquiry is whether we may find an inductive basis for a faith in any, for us, significant reality behind those ramparts, as strong as the complete conviction we have acquired of the existence of physical being.

In the search for this basis it will prove profitable to examine the nature of human knowledge and its limits; and in doing so to inquire, more than we have done as yet, into those conceptions which we are able, nay, compelled to form and which are just as truly phenomena as the physical impressions of sense. They obey law, too, in the same way. A more thoughtful mind may be able to reach some concepts impossible to a less thoughtful one, but the history of philosophy shows that the development is always the same, on the higher as on the lower planes. Moreover, just as we found the modes and attributes of matter to be mental appearances capable in certain cases of transforming themselves into others, until we were able to reduce all things to a basic external energy, so we shall find all our impressions and concepts uniting and simplifying themselves in the mental apprehension of that energy, akin to our own apparent will, operating in physical appearance in an endless space and time. This space and time, though merely mental forms, we are all convinced practically, whatever the fanciful metaphysics a few may affect, express real modes of external being. Even phenomenally they import an infinity which we are bound to recognize though we cannot understand it. But to say that we attain, by legitimate induction, a conviction of the true objective existence of a unitary energy ceaselessly working in space and time independently of our thinking, is to say that we believe in its noumenal reality, however inscrutable. To say that we



find, as we do, that our thinking is able to discover, in the relativity of its own acquisitions, the logical need of an absolute, though incomprehensible, is to say that we are entitled to believe that the absolute exists.

We have to reach the intuitions of space and time as our mode of reaction to infantile experiences, but, once reached, they condition all our thoughts. It is impossible for a moment to lose the notion of material being and change in a boundless space and time. To conceive either of them with limits is impossible. Both express the endless potentiality of motion. Men have never had any experience of a place or time at which they found or could erect a wall beyond which further motion was impossible. The conception of infinity, on the other hand, is equally impossible to mortal minds that have only a finite time within which to extend their experiences and a limited organism within which to register them. We cannot conceive of an end to time or space, and we cannot conceive them without end. In every way they are beyond our understanding. And yet it is true, if such an expression be permissible, that infinity is less inconceivable than limit. The latter conception seems to possess a superior kind of impossibility. We have a dim perception of the fact, while we cannot understand it, that it must be true that space and time are endless, or, since they are but forms of thought, express some objective mode of being that is infinite. They are the relative modes of apprehension of that external world in which we firmly believe, of the something that causes that apprehension. We do not know them but we are entitled to believe that they exist in themselves.

In the same way that we are compelled to think of infinite space and time we are compelled to think of a deathless force acting in them to constitute phenomena. We have seen that space is our reaction to the change of



position; to the causative muscular action in the case of our own motion; to the strain of eye and other muscles in following the propulsion of other objects. Muscular strain is for us the manifestation of force. In the same way, we were able to find the energy of motion as the basis of even such apparently static senses as vision and smell. Substance itself we also analyzed to be for us the apprehension of resistance; time, that of sequences of matter in motion. All phenomena thus are reducible to force, that is, to the transfer of energy, as truly as the sensation "red" is reducible to ether motions. This force we find to act in space during time wherever there is matter. According to the concepts excited by our experience and the laws demonstrated by our science, there is no end to the possibility of matter's motion in infinite time and space, and perhaps no end to the reservoir of omnipresent ether and its constitutive energy.

There is a close relationship between our conceptions of time and space. They are both born from that of force. Its static existence, a poor expression necessitated by the inadequacies of language in such discussions, is manifested to us in the appearance of extended matter or substance; its kinetic existence, in motion in space and time. We conceive of that motion as forward, backward, or in any direction, and hence of space as extending everywhere. As objects move they recede from or approach each other; things happen. Space corresponds to intervals between positions; time, to intervals between events, but in a different way. An object may travel to the successive positions of several others and then reverse its motion. In space, it is all one, but in time the reverse motion is still forward. Each rencontre is a new event, though the object encountered has been met before. Time flows ceaselessly in one direction only. Or, as some might put it, while motion in space may be hither, thither and in

every direction, and at different velocities, the whole universe together seems to travel with stately and equal progress, always in one direction, so to speak, along the time dimension.

The reason is that in the finite universe of conflicting and never ceasing energies, of attractions and repulsions, movement involves frictions, wearing out, change, death. In an infinite universe of non-complex and hence indestructible beings, time becomes eternity, disappears as a necessary concept. Its reality is in the restlessness of things. A man's mind functions with finite memory in a finite body, which develops and deteriorates and dies, so that, even when he travels to the encounter of objects perceived before, he experiences changes, the differences between those objects and their images recalled in memory, and those other changes which the interval will have brought in his mortal self. For mortals that which has happened can never happen again, except in reminiscence, and then it is a different happening. In the words of Omar, "The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on." It is only in the eternal that past, present and future may be one.

Even the static existence of material objects cannot be made manifest to us except in time. An object, in order to be apprehensible, must *endure*. The mind cannot conceive it until the eye or touching limb has consumed time to travel over it, taking in by the usual complexes its extension. Physical science teaches us that while matter may seem to disappear, it but changes the arrangement of its ultimate particles. They endure forever.

Thus again we see that space and time express for us only incomprehensible modes of the basic energy. Space might seem to the poet to express that energy's infinite being, changeless, though in it are nevertheless contained all the possibilities of change; while time might similarly

seem to express its power to bring forth those finite modifications of itself that move ever forward in ceaseless change. But such rhapsodies are clearly far beyond the domain of possible knowledge. All we can say is that the analysis of our own intuitions and concepts, as that of Nature herself, invariably results in convincing us of the existence of an ultimate Power which again, in the very relativity of our perception of it, we are dimly able to perceive, without understanding, must be absolute, and whose modes, whether in an infinite space and time or in a non-spatial and timeless essence, are entirely beyond all power of human comprehension.

An opposite difficulty to that of the infinity of space and time is that of the divisibility of matter. Let us suppose someone to divide an object into halves, the halves into quarters, the quarters into eighths, and so on, until it is pulverized into fragments so small as to be hardly perceptible to vision; and then to continue the process mentally. If the material be a compound, the division will theoretically proceed until the molecule is reached, and then, as the latter is subjected to the same treatment, the original substance will disappear as such and the atoms will be attained. Division of the atom will expose the electrons. Can an electron be treated in the same way, and if so, will we finally reach a simple corpuscle, perhaps the world substance or energy of which all matter is some sort of a complex and beyond which further division is impossible? Is matter infinitely divisible or not?

This problem worried our ancestors a great deal more than it will the present generation. They had not discovered the electron or acquired the notion that its true nature may be that of energy, lacking the apparently divisible extension which to every-day experience is the never failing accompaniment of matter. Before this recent refinement, the mind was confronted with the neces-

sity of entertaining one of two contradictory inconceivables, a divisibility that potentially might go on forever, or the attainment of a particle, however minute and elemental, which still was extended and yet simple, that is, completely insusceptible of division. Now, however, we have strong ground for the belief that the latter supposition, while inconceivable to mentalities trained in the opposite experience, must, nevertheless, be true. To use again the same strange expression that we have had to use before, this inconceivability is less than the first. While we cannot possibly posit an indivisible particle, we can vaguely recognize that, in some way incomprehensible to our thought processes, matter may, in its final analysis, be simple and indivisible energy. Infinite space is less inconceivable than limited, but limited divisibility is less so than infinite.

We have decided that we must believe in the real existence of objects, that we can know them only in mental forms, and that, whatever those forms may be, they reduce themselves always to that noumenal something which we apprehend as force. That force we find everywhere, producing apparent multiplicity, but always the same. We may take any phenomenon we like and trace it backward from cause to cause; we will invariably find, not only that we must reach in its final cause that of all phenomena, but also that, whatever further discoveries and larger generalizations may be imagined, which may relegate the first cause to a more remote position, we must always find that cause, once reached, a noumenon unattainable by knowledge.

We observe, for example, a stir in the foliage. We ascertain that the cause is a breeze. When we inquire whence the breeze, science informs us that it is due to air forced by pressure to take the place of other air which is rising by reason of the heat of the sun's rays, which ex-



pand its volume and diminish its weight. When we inquire as to the cause of the pressure of the intruding air and of the expansion and weight diminution of the rising air, we are told that the first is due to gravitation and the latter to the wider separation of the air molecules by the more violent agitation caused by the ethereal motion of the rays. When we inquire as to the cause of that ethereal motion, we are told that it is due to the atomic motion of the heat of the sun, in turn due to the contraction of its particles, which also comes from the force of gravitation. Thus the ultimate explanation we seek is found to lie in that force. Science has not yet solved that mystery, but some day it will discover those modes or qualities of the omnipresent and all-connecting ether which will seem to us, physically, a sufficient explanation of the attractions and repulsions of matter from which evolution begins. And when we seek even further, we cannot doubt that, however far we may be compelled to ascend from generalization to generalization, we must ultimately be stopped, and again by the same unitary and basic energy that underlies all apparent action and substance. The final cause will be one, noumenal and unreachable, knowable only in its effects.

As fully then as we believe in Nature herself, and as truly as we unfailingly find all her multitudinous phenomena reduce themselves to one force, must we believe in the existence of that Unknowable and Uncaused Being. The existence of God is as certain as that of the world. To say also, however, that he is absolute, eternal and infinite, all in all and beyond relations, is to say that he is beyond all possibility of human comprehension. Whatever the development of the future, however vast the coming achievements of science, mind can never penetrate beyond itself or overstep the limitations of finite organs however gigantic they may become. We must forever abandon the pre-



sumption of attempting the understanding, at least by intellect, of that which, being inconceivable, transcends its powers. How far, then, the inconceivable is scientifically legitimate may be worth a brief inquiry.

The test of truth with men is the consistency of their different memories and concepts. Any notion calls for revision of itself or its competitor when either proves logically contradictory of the other. On the basis of the data of experience the mind deduces that the sum of the angles of every triangle must be two right angles. If any apparently external triangle were, on measurement, found not to yield that result, we should be compelled to find either the original deduction or the later observation erroneous. There could be no question of the power of the mind to handle that difficulty. But if, in the course of the revision of competing notions, or otherwise, we find ourselves dealing with a pseudo-concept which turns out on analysis not to be really picturable, in other words, inconceivable, we know we are dealing with something that is beyond logic and science, at least unless and until, in the course of progress, that inconceivable can and does become conceivable. But there are certain things which, in the nature of mind, are inherently inconceivable. These, we have sufficiently seen, embrace all noumena, final limits and the opposite infinity.

We must, however, make a distinction between this class of inconceivables and those which are merely difficult. We are at all times entitled to bring symbolism to our aid. For example, no man can form a true conception of such a magnitude as that of the solar system. Yet that system, adequately for his purposes, may be conceived symbolically by a mental picture of so many little balls revolving about a luminous central ball in elliptical orbits, each attended by similarly revolving smaller satellites, and all the balls rotating also on their own axes. The

mathematical relations are added to the little picture, with the surprising result of predictions fulfilled. Besides this order of concepts in which we may be thus aided, there are others which, while impossible of mental representation in the present condition of science, or in the present state of our faculties, may, and unquestionably will, become conceivable when both science and mentality have further developed. These, however, must not be confused with the impossible ones just mentioned. Great conceptions, unimaginable now, undoubtedly await us. But always they will deal with the finite things of the physical universe. The mystery of God must forever remain. The veil that shrouds it can never be penetrated other than by the conversion of finite mind into another and mystic sort, itself inconceivable, and with powers of a kind, not degree, removed from all present or past experience.

The curious Einstein theory of relativity is deeply interesting, not only because of the evidence it affords of the ambition of the human mind, but because its correct understanding affords an excellent illustration of the impassable gulf that lies between the phenomenal and the noumenal. According to this theory, space, time and motion are illusions born of the crass inadequacy of our sense equipment. No man has ever seen or directly perceived by any sense a molecule, an atom or an electron, but we are able to deduce, and to some extent to picture them from phenomena which are sensuously apprehensible and from the latter's similarly apprehensible mathematical relations. These particles none the less exist even though they are ordinarily apprehensible to us only in forms so radically different from their true nature that unassisted sense would lead us to deny them. In the same way, according to the Einstein theory, space, time and motion, as we apprehend them, are merely the illusive forms in which our defective senses reflect an underlying

reality which is entirely different. That reality is a four-dimensional continuum in which motion, as we know it, does not exist at all, and which adds to the three dimensions we know a fourth, time, which is as truly a dimension as the other three. There is no actual rest, as there is no actual motion. Energy manifests itself to us as matter and also in a way which to us appears to be motion of matter in space and time, but which, actually, is an unpicturable activity in the four-dimensional continuum designated as space-time. When we deal with energies and velocities ordinary in human experience, we find that Euclidean geometry and common mathematics, which are their product, suffice to explain them and calculate their action. But when, in the course of scientific progress, we encounter the great velocities of the electronic world which approximate that of light, we are told that the phenomena are no longer explicable or calculable by the old three-dimensional mathematics. Space-time and its products are concededly inconceivable, but the hope seems to be extended that, when their study shall have sufficiently developed our powers, the difficulties insuperable now will yield to full conception by new faculties.

The genesis of the theory is the need of an explanation of certain supposed, newly discovered data. Among these is the asserted fact that the velocity of light is not only always actually, but will always *appear*, constant at 186,000 miles per second, and the same to an observer traveling with it as to one traveling against it, even though each be ignorant of his own motion. That incomprehensible truth assumed, certain equations result in which the time factor seems to have the same mathematical position as the space dimensions. This suggests the hypothesis that time is a true fourth dimension. From these marvelous premises follow equally marvelous results. The velocity of light is a limiting velocity at which bodies cease

to be, time stops and motion and space disappear. The last three never did have any but an illusory existence, as is the case also with mass and force. Everything depends upon the strength of the activities inherent in matter. A length or a time unit is one thing on this earth and quite another in the more intense gravitational field of the sun. Most surprisingly, granted extraordinary energies or faculties of perception, a mile on one body will be less than a mile to an observer on another, and an hour will be longer, while to an observer on the first body examining the second, the mile will again be less, not more, and the hour longer, not shorter, than on his own. With force, dies gravitation, which reduces itself to an appearance compelled by the non-Euclidean structure of the space-time created by the matter apparently subject to the force. For there is not even space-time apart from matter. Its structure is the mode of the latter's activities.

One interesting result of the theory which may be, however, supported apart from it, is that the same energy which makes itself manifest in motion is that which is also constitutive of matter, so that with increase of velocity a body gains in mass. According to this view, the billiard ball of our last chapter, when it receives the additional energy of motion, gains in substance, though this is not perceptible at the ordinary velocities which alone we know.

The theory is so destructive of the very fundamentals of thought and science that the proof that will rightly be required for its acceptance will be almost as great as in the case of an alleged miracle. As yet, that proof is of the flimsiest character. We are here concerned, however, only with the theory's philosophical import. What it attempts, although some of its followers do not seem to appreciate the fact, is not the impossible, mystic feat of penetrating into the noumenal world, but merely the novel and revolu-



tionary reduction of the ultimates of physical science to others more profound but still physical. These, though as yet hopelessly beyond the reach of sense or imagination, are supposed to have revealed themselves in the mathematical reactions of phenomena. But mathematics has to do with numbers, that is, with mentally known physical things and not with noumena.

If the Einstein concepts now so imperfect should ever be truly realized we may imagine the glory of our new realization of the cosmos, reached as though by an added sense. They would present to us a new *idea*, true in its agreement with other realities. This suggests an inquiry generally into the significance of ideas. Are they any less actual than the things of sense? Certainly, since the thinking ego is our only immediate datum we ought to grant to it and its affections a reality at least equal to that which it takes for granted in the external world. If its reactions to objects in the form of its simplest impressions, such as color, are verities, there can be no reason for denying a like actuality to the most difficult and abstract concepts. The question is merely whether the realities of sense or concept are such in the same *form* as that in which they are apprehended, and whether they are permanent or evanescent. Both are facts of experience, true phenomena presented to the most profound and perhaps the noumenal part of the apparent ego.

A man during a term of experience may perceive thousands of roses. Assisted by the word "rose," which strings together that which is common to the numerous particular ones, he reaches the general idea "rose." Among the numbers he has seen are many which he considers to have beauty, that state of color, shade, outline and suggestive pose which sums up for him countless utilitarian experiences of the race in the aesthetic emotion of joyful recognition. With the assistance of the word "beauty" he



extracts from all the roses he has known the idea of rose beauty as a thing in itself; and similarly from other beautiful objects, however diverse, the same idea, until he reaches that of supernal beauty in itself. From the emotions aroused by particular loved objects he mounts to the idea of love; from the conscientious comparison of particular courses of conduct, to that of justice; from particular phenomena of cause and effect, to that of final cause; from particular experiences of virtuous conduct, to that of perfect goodness; from particular sentiments of awe and wonder, finally to adoration of the incomprehensible Ultimate.

It cannot be denied that the sense impressions of particular objects are ordinarily much more vigorous than the images of memory or idea. Those images too, for us, are born from our experiences of those external things which, however imperfect they may be, few will be heard to question, produce the conviction of reality by their very vividness. But all mental instruments are not the same. Even a particular rose may impress with a different and more illuminating reality the mind of genius than that of the common man. In the true artist imperfect specimens may be transmuted into the ideal rose of his mind's eye, which may be more true and vivid than any he has ever perceived. Talent attempts to conceive the thing in perfection, and if it cannot reproduce, in marble or on canvas, the ideal it is able to reach, the reason must again be found in the limitations of its physical instruments. Weak or strong, however, the feeble picture of mediocrity or the inspiring lodestar of genius, the concept is nevertheless a phenomenon and thus as truly real as any other.

It seems, but may only seem, to be something already existent, which mentality is ever valorously striving to reach in spite of defective apparatus and which, in its

unattainable reality, vastly superior to the mortal things of sense, may be the imperishable paragon, not produced by them, but of which they are imperfectly perceived copies. Ideals, even in the far from perfect condition in which they have as yet been able to realize themselves, persist and grow from generation to generation as the priceless heritages of the race.

Are these ideals merely transitory illusions, extracted from particulars, which, though real, ceaselessly change and die, or are they eternal essences which in a sense we are rediscovering? The illustrious Plato says that they are the most real things we know. He insists that it is the things of sense which are but apparitions, while the profound verities are those of thought, mounting in an ever ascending series until they reach unity and perfection in the supreme goodness of the Godhead. The modern philosopher is compelled to assert that, however noble this conception may be, it is purely metaphysical, carrying us into the noumenal world, far beyond the domain of a valid thought or science.

Nevertheless, there is an aspect of this conception which demands consideration. We start or may start with the most materialistic notion of the world. We discover its evolution from blind and mechanical matter and energy, without supernatural intervention. We find an orderly development from simple to complex forms until finally appear self-consciousness and reason, sentiment and will. A being with these faculties finds himself able to conceive ideas far beyond the simple memories, images and associations of sense impressions. He finds himself able to mount to bodiless ideals, even to attain some dim conception of the cosmos as a harmonious and glorious whole in which the truest reality is not the material forces which apparently produce mentality, but a unifying absolute that transcends mentality and informs the multiple

particulars of sense. Starting with sheer mechanism we reach ideation. We reach the idea of the Idea as the noumenal force, as the perfect Artist working in eternity, yet realizing itself in time, in the countless subtleties and multiplicities of the magnificent universe, in a fashion which may be feebly compared to that in which the mortal poet or sculptor or inventor, in works of genius, attempts to mold his inert materials into the forms of his vision.

In these wondrous conceptions, in the mere fact of their formation, are we entitled to find a basis in reason for the belief that the evolutionary process is not mechanically manufacturing something new, but mystically returning to the fundamental realities which are its origin as well as its end? Are we reasonably entitled to take the optimistic view that mechanism never created idea, though it may give it a home, but rather that idea has created mechanism? And, if we find that it adds to the happiness and to the dignity of men to adopt that view, to believe in a real purpose in things, however incomprehensible, a real permanence underlying apparent transitoriness, is it not sensible for them to live their lives accordingly?

## CHAPTER XVIII

### PHILOSOPHY. GOD AND THE SOUL

**T**HE physical regions still unexplored are vast beyond calculation. This is true, not only because science has not yet been able to reach them, but also because men have not developed an adequate sense equipment. Many imperceptible phenomena have been and, during the centuries to come, will be, forced by experiment and through instrumentation to manifest themselves by their effects; but there must exist countless others entirely beyond the reach of our present endowment.

Here is man with his few pitiful senses. His most vivid apprehension of things as he knows them comes from vision. Even more basically necessary to his existence are the senses of touch and muscular movement; while without sound he could not have developed beyond the beast, lacking speech and the possibility of those abstractions which depend on a terminology binding together multitudes of things by single names. Imagine him deprived of only one of these senses. If he had never had vision, imagine the dark lot, the stunted development that would have been his. Inconceivable to him, then, the luminous splendor of the visible world! Even with the explanations of a seeing person, describing to him in words the phenomena revealed by that sense, he would have been incapable of conceiving them. What countless other phenomena must there be in the same way unknown to him through lack of the necessary senses with which to apprehend them!

Given man as he stands, even as certain of the motional rhythms of the restless universe express themselves to him in visual perception and the glories of color, certain others in sweet harmonies of sound, what a multitude of similar vibrations must exist, traveling through the vast reaches of space, which would reveal to him a universe of even greater and unimaginable variety and splendor, had he developed the additional senses adapted to their perception! The poet may dream of such symphonies, as yet unrevealed, trumpeted as though by angels from the deep recesses of infinity; but, multifarious as they may be, as strange, in their utter novelty, as light to a hitherto dark world, powerful and immense as the human faculties developed, of a nature to receive them, they would still be phenomenal only, mental appearances, analyzable into ultimate forms of physical motion, still concealing the profoundly mysterious Reality which we are compelled, though indefinitely, to posit.

To a man born blind and suddenly given sight, the revelation would, of course, be of a universe hitherto unsuspected and unknown. His feeling could scarcely differ, except in degree, from that of a man who, after dying a despairing death, should experience the unutterable joy of finding himself resurrected in or restored to a non-spatial existence, theretofore entirely inconceivable. Conceptions of the universe, now impossible, conceivably await the development of senses as new to us as that of vision to our man born blind. Logically, too, there may be conceptions as yet unborn even *in posse*, because our environment is inadequate for the proper experiences, for the gathering of the necessary materials. Much, therefore, may possibly await us, beyond even the vast normal development expected, much of complete novelty, that will add inconceivably to the joy of life and the glory of thought, much that may even give additional sublimity to



our problem. Truly, "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy." But, however splendid may be the future, the inexorable logic of our constant if widening bounds must make it sufficiently evident that finite knowledge can never extend into the realm of the noumenal.

When the scientist traces phenomena from cause to cause, it has been usual to argue that he must ultimately reach a unitary first cause, beyond which he cannot go, and that it must, according to the necessities of our logic and always assuming the law of causation, be somewhat of the following nature. It must be infinite since if not there must be something beyond it, which implies another first cause. It must be absolute since, if it were relative to something else, there must again exist that something else beyond it, in which case it could neither be the first cause nor infinite. It must itself be uncaused, that is, be self-existent, since otherwise it could not be the first cause, but must be the effect of a prior one. This logic in any aspect is far from flawless, but its hopeless vice is that it deals with terms which have for us no real meaning. Thus, whenever we believe ourselves to be making some sort of approach to the reality of things, we never fail to discover the restricted nature of our mental apparatus in the fact that the final principles we reach prove to be inconceivable to us, not only because they are never present in our minds except in limited and phenomenal form, but because they must be of a nature that transcends our finite experience and our powers.

Moreover, in attempting to carry the law of cause and effect into the noumenal world, even into the first impulse of creation, we are guilty of a lack of logic. We are not here alluding to the inconsistency of supposing an absolute Being to have relation as a cause to an effect, but to the empiric nature of our belief in that law. This belief

is the result merely of invariable experience. Men observe certain phenomena repeatedly following others and never appearing without them. Logically, the relationship need not be that which we call cause and effect, but may be only sequence. Such is the persistency of the sequences, however, and the utter lack of caprice in the power that manifests them, that we have derived by habit an expectancy amounting to a convinced faith that the same order will continue. Whether or not the law of mental habit sufficiently accounts for our faith in the principle of necessary consequence, as indeed for our faith also in external reality, science, since it deals only with phenomena, assumes always the existence of Nature and of that animating principle. In mortal experience so many phenomena have sooner or later been found to have causes at first buried in mystery, that the very life of science is the constant and indefatigable pursuit of those still unknown. Its repeated successes have been sufficiently numerous and crucial to afford another inductive proof of the law. Certainly the opposite demonstration of an uncaused effect has never been made. Whatever the unsubstantiated claims of mystics and psychics, there is no authentic record of a demonstration of a physical happening without a connected physical antecedent. One may will an event, but can only produce it with physical instruments acting on physical things.

While the law of cause and effect is, then, a matter of induction, of relative knowledge, without logical finality, perhaps we have here again the realization of a concept which has evolved into unity with some noumenal fact; for, from the universal mental necessity of conceiving certain sequences as compulsory, and events without causes as impossible, we derive a conviction that that necessity expresses a mental reaction to Nature of equal validity with that of space or of time. Of course, even if

this be true, it is no more proof of the existence of the law in the innermost essence of things than is the reaction of mind to motional phenomena in terms of space and time, proof that the latter exist as objective realities. The most that we can say is that we have a just basis for believing it a mode of noumenal reality. It seems to us that things willed by God must happen.

We have been endeavoring to show the indubitable limits of the knowable and the facts upon which may be based a conviction of the existence, and a reasonable faith in the mystic purposiveness, of the Unknowable; but also the limits which bar any real knowledge of that ineffable Being. It is, of course, true that many minds of a sensitive type, perhaps the highest type we have, cannot and will not remain content within these limits. Entirely apart from the claims of revelation, they feel or hope that humanity may prove able, in some way as yet unknown to logic, to penetrate the riddle of the universe, or at least, by the power of imagination, itself a fact, to mount to some dim understanding of its secret glories.

The most delightful harmonies of color or sound, inductive analysis may satisfy us, are due to cerebral, molecular motion caused ultimately by physical vibrations in an external medium, but this precludes no one from denying with conviction that motion must necessarily represent their true nature. Neither does it preclude any one from *imagining* that the vibrations themselves may be the expression of an infinite and absolute Consciousness in which they may have all the actuality of heavenly symphonies and ineffable glories of color; that behind the atomic activity that causes such a psychologic ultimate as color or sound, lies a Being that thinks these ultimates and transmits them through the instrumentality of motion to our brains, where they are transmuted to something akin to their original states by a human mentality

that is at one with that same Being, immanent throughout Nature; that even as, underlying Nature, there exists an unknowable energy, so, underlying human consciousness, exists an unknowable energy which may constitute one with the first, so that this one Spirit underlying both may be the universal noumenon sought by the philosopher. Science is no enemy of the poet or metaphysician or reverent devotee who feels the pulse of divine power throbbing behind the manifestations which alone we can know.

While, as we have seen, a faith in a transcendent purpose is justified by the facts, such speculations as the foregoing concerning the nature of God are *only* speculations. They rest on no firm basis. They are concerned with noumena. They attempt to assign attributes and relations to the absolute. They express rather our hopes than our knowledge. But, so far as they do not offend reason, they are as justifiable as any other noble form of human thought. The conceptions of the metaphysician like those of the poet will continue to charm the intellect, while sometimes they mount to the height of those exceptionally exalted Ideas which, by the consent of mankind, seem to express a mystic harmony with truth and beauty. To those to whom the certainty of the existence of God and the reasonableness of faith in his beneficence are not enough, such speculations are legitimately comforting. It must be confessed, too, in their favor, as has here been urged also in favor of a logical faith, that the human mind in its finest efforts sometimes reaches heights where it seems to tremble upon the verge of the unseen world. The very sublimity and unearthliness of certain conceptions which it is surprisingly able to attain, at the same time justify its ambitious effort and admonish us that its powers, both in strength and kind, are unsuited to the completion of the task.

It will not be profitless again briefly to recall some of



these conceptions. We know that we can never know the infinite since it is but a vague idea beyond animal experience, and yet we have some kind of reverent apprehension, if not of its nature, at least of its existence. While we are unable to understand how phenomena or space or time or the potentialities which they express can be endless, yet we are unable to conceive an end to them. We cannot conceive how anything can exist uncaused or unprecedented, and yet we have a dim, but certain, comprehension of the fact that the universe's underlying being, in its entirety and apart from its ceaseless changes in form, is uncaused and self-existent. And the very strength of our perception that our knowledge of things is relative persuades us of the existence, though inaccessible to us, of the absolute of which they are the relative reflection.

In the light of the analysis of all substances into one substance, and that one substance, as in fact all things and concepts in their inner nature, into an ultimate energy, we reach, by the methods of science, something similar to the old deduction that all things are the manifestation of an omnipresent and inscrutable Power. It must of necessity follow that the age-old controversy between the materialist and the idealist or spiritualist is, in its ancient form at least, a thing of the past. There can be no longer an opposition of a gross, inert matter to active spirit. All things are reducible to force, or, if you please, spirit. The controversy still persists, however, in another form.

The materialist is the less sensitive mind, who, having carried the analysis thus far, is content to say that the investigation is ended, that the universe is the manifestation of an incomprehensible monistic force which has developed all things up to man, that it is an arrogance for the latter to conceive himself as of importance in the in-



finite whole, and that, with the disintegration of the human organism at death, disappears the conscious mind which for a brief instant of infinite time animated it. The idealist, on the other hand, is lost in admiration at the power of that mind, which, hampered in its finite organism, can, nevertheless, penetrate so deeply into the nature of things, and feel so beautifully the inexpressible things beyond the reach of reason; and reverences it beyond all the tremendous physical forces that threaten it. His speculations strive to find a ground in reason or imagination for investing it with dignity and importance. Certainly the most imaginative idealist, finding so much in the evolutionary process that favors his beliefs, is less of an offender against reason than that extreme type of materialist who, not content with agnosticism, presumes to assert the mechanistic unconsciousness of the cosmic Power. But even the idealist should keep his rhapsodies within bounds.

It ought to be a sufficiently splendid and satisfying achievement to have proved by inductive methods that carry with them a conviction as strong as any knowledge that human beings can have, that a God exists who may not, by any logic, be said to be inconsistent with ideals. Science joins with religion in reaching that truth. While it must insist on its ignorance of the nature of God, that very ignorance prohibits the attribution to him of a blind mechanism that fails to explain the prodigy of human reason, as completely as it prohibits the attribution to him of the characteristics of personality. In any event, there can be no reason to designate this unquestioned Reality by any other name than the sacred one in which the common spirit of science and religion has hitherto found reverent satisfaction. The very hopelessness of the aspiration to know its secrets may suggest the legitimacy of the reasoning by which its existence has been demonstrated. A known God would be no God at all. The mys-

tery of the Infinite, Absolute and Eternal compels worship. Endless becoming and suffering and realizing express a Being to which death and ennui are alike unknown. Development would end and mental movement perish in the satisfaction of complete solution. Logic demonstrates the futility of any attempt by intellectual process to take the divine citadel. The fortifications are impervious to any artillery we know. Our ability to reach the unassailable walls and to attain some dim comprehension of the unimaginable profundities that lie beyond, ought to be sufficient.

Nevertheless, there is a philosophy that has claimed to reach the truth, that of modern mysticism. It agrees with positivism that unassisted reason cannot go beyond the unification of the finite; but it abandons reason in favor of emotion. Its claim is that a few elect spirits, the masters, by virtue of the purity of their lives or the earnestness of their intellectual aspiration, finally are enabled to reach a state of ecstasy wherein they are granted a vision of reality which yields to them complete and blissful understanding of all the mysteries. But they are, alas, unable to impart to their less fortunate brethren that which they have learned. The truth is too transcendently tremendous to be held in finite comprehension, once the ecstatic state is passed, or to be embodied in the feeble language of men, which so frequently balks even at the expression of the more subtle of finite abstractions, that it is not surprising that it becomes silent in the presence of Eternity.

The mystics treat this ecstasy, or cosmic consciousness as it has been called, as though it represented a new thing in human development, a state representing the latest stage in the evolutionary process. But they realize at the same time that it appeared, at least sporadically, early in history; for they class as among their number some of

the seers and prophets of the revealed religions, for which many of them, however, have nothing but contempt. They do not seem to suspect, in their exalted passion for absolute truth, that they have retrograded to a preference for barbaric frenzy over civilized reason. Like Faust, having found the noblest philosophy impotent to pierce the veil, they have resorted, in their despair, to magic at the last. It is impossible to deny the claim of inner experiences, but it is possible to state with conviction that nothing has emerged from them of the slightest use in the search for knowledge, earthly or transcendent.

Those who have only their intellects upon which to rely must sadly dismiss the ambition of sharing in these ecstatic revelations, while expressing the hope that they are not of the same type, frequently pathological, as the delusions of orthodox fanaticism. The enlightened have been fooled too often and too sadly by the lengths to which the aspiration for unworldly truth has driven men, generally but not always of the uneducated class. The gift of tongues and the transports of revivalism have too frequently, not only disgusted the informed, but disappointed their disillusioned victims.

Nevertheless a recent writer, P. D. Ouspensky, has published a volume of mystic philosophy which he believes to be of such importance as to merit the title "*Tertium Organum*," presumably as the correction or supplement of the first *Organon* of Aristotle and the second or *Novum Organum* of Francis Bacon. This book frankly proposes to solve the hitherto unfathomable problems by ecstasy and not by reason. It says:

As soon as we begin to think in other terms than those of concepts, we must be prepared to encounter an enormous number of absurdities from the standpoint of existing logic. . . . Science must come to mysticism, because in mysticism there is a new method. . . . Science should throw off almost everything old

and should start afresh with a new theory of knowledge. . . . We must first of all work out the fundamental logical principles which would permit us to observe the relations of things in a world of many dimensions—seeing in them a certain reasonableness, and not complete absurdity. If we enter there armed only with the principles of the logic of the three-dimensional world, these principles will drag us back, will not give us a chance to rise from the earth. . . . All attempts to penetrate mentally into that higher, noumenal world . . . by means of the logic of the phenomenal world, if they did not fail altogether, or did not lead to castles in the air, gave only one result: In becoming conscious of a new order of things, a man lost the sense of the reality of the old order. . . . In the world of infinite and fluent magnitudes, a magnitude may be not equal to itself; a part may be equal to the whole; and of two equal magnitudes one may be infinitely greater than the other. . . . Logic now goes along the same path. It must renounce itself, come to perceive the necessity for its own annihilation—then out of it a new and higher logic can arise. . . . Mystical philosophy . . . built its system outside of logic or above logic. . . . The higher logic existed before deductive and inductive logic was formulated. This higher logic may be called intuitive logic—the logic of infinity, the logic of ecstasy.

In view of this statement, those who cannot hope, through rapture, to become gods and employ the logic of heaven, must abandon themselves to mundane methods. Doing so, they are able to see that the crucial question between the materialist and the idealist is whether God is a blind and unconscious mechanism, or of a nature which, even if transcendently unimaginable, is still of the order of intelligence and will. The creeds insist upon a personal God; infinite, absolute, omnipresent and almighty, it is true; yet still personal. Now personality in finite beings, whatever else it may be, is the objective association of the perceptions, memories and ideas of one little brain by a subjective ego. It connotes the existence of things outside of the ego to which the latter bears a relationship. What a failure, therefore, to mount to the



heights of this great problem and to sense the sublime mystery of ultimate Being, to ascribe personality or consciousness, as we know them, to a God who, it seems to us, must be independent of all relationship and infinitely inclusive of all existences. We know him only as he is manifested in Nature and its evolutionary processes; and in the marvelous activities of our own minds. All phenomena, including these last, give us a conviction of his existence and to most of the thoughtful a faith that among his modes must be that of purpose in which men have a part. We find reasonable ground for believing that our own highest abstractions, as well as our ordinary faculties of perception, in some way represent a return to or oneness with creative Idea, that our souls are in some incomprehensible way a part of God's nature, reflecting in the limited pictures of a limited organism an infinitesimal fraction of the mystic whole. The true philosopher prostrates himself absolutely before so astounding a mystery and so transcendent a God.

Thus we see that the realm in which religion may rationally thrive is that of a just faith in the existence in God of purpose; but that purpose must be one which may logically include men within its benignant aims. For them it would be vain if it did not promise them some form of personal immortality. Cruel indeed would be the cosmic end if it included as one aim the creation of a beautiful altruism, in glorious harmony with profound verity, only to include as another the dissonance of using that wondrous human quality for the greatest sacrifice of all, humble resignation to annihilation. Cruel beyond words, the development of self-forgetful conquest over the demons of this agonizing life, only to ask the hero at the end to submit piously to the crowning sacrifice of extinction beyond resurrection.

All men sooner or later, whether as the product of deep



thought, or carelessly, adopt some philosophy, some method of outlook upon the world. The question is whether that philosophy shall be hopeful or despairing. The whole course of life with many, perhaps all, depends upon this choice. We have seen that even high ethical development is initially utilitarian, but among the weak the belief that men are to die like dogs, will nevertheless tend to create the philosophy of old Omar, that of despair. Its votaries, at least those inappreciative of the higher pleasures, will eat, drink and be merry; indulge every base part, at least to an extent that will not injure the power of repetition, whenever they have a reasonable certainty of being able to do so without penalty. For the *noblesse oblige* of altruism, except with what we call the very noblest natures, must tend to disappear with a philosophy that can no longer assert the existence of truly high values. To a surely perishing mind ideals will tend to have no worth. Certainly we little men, struggling for happiness against a cruel Nature, are not called upon, except in so far as it gives us pleasure, to be altruists if there be no purpose in things, or if there be such, for the benefit of the ultimate aims, whatever they may be, of a God who implants in us aspirations only to disappoint and kill them.

In either case, man cannot find comfort in the reflection either that the desire for immortality is but a form of the strong instinct of self-preservation developed in the struggle for existence, or that it expresses the unwarranted arrogance of an exceedingly limited creature who should be satisfied and happy to live his short span doing all that he can therein without personal hope. Self-preservation is characteristic of every beast, but in no beast has it taken the form of a craving for existence uninterrupted by physical death. It is true that that craving may be merely expressive of the superiority of human over beastly intelligence, but it is also true that it

is only in the higher intelligence that the desire to live transcends the mere instinctive fear of physical destruction and takes on the perception of an unfulfilled destiny. It may be the cruel truth that the longing for immortality is but the expression of the life-preserving habit, doomed to disappointment; but if so we are face to face with a fact of appalling ugliness. A fact, too, which many now believe who still have the dauntless courage to live virtuous lives despite it. Indeed the safety of the ethical ideals in the strongest and most intelligent men is assured in any case; and that, strangely, is significant in the argument. We have seen to what moral heights the perception of the good of the race leads us; what wondrous conceptions the love of knowledge produces in us. It is no arrogance for beings gifted with such ideals to crave, before extinction, at least some understanding of the whole of things, if not a part in it.

The fear and abhorrence which most men have for death may, we repeat, be merely the product of that highly developed instinct which, having caused survival through so many ages, becomes more powerful in the more complex and sensitive organisms. But if so, and just because of the superlative strength of that instinct, what shall we say of the sublime courage and reason which enable men to face the inevitable with fortitude? All men of that heroic stature which is revered even by those cast in lesser moulds, while rejoicing to the full in the pleasures of life, and even when not comforted by the accepted certainties of revelation, face to face with the great and final enemy, wrap about themselves the mantle of their dignity and die in peace, if not in hope.

It may be that some human beings are not worthy of survival since they neither wish it nor have in them that yearning for the high things of absolute beauty and virtue and truth, which makes it plausible. If the bundle of

complexes that constitutes a man attains nothing higher than the satisfaction of appetites and the preservation of physical well-being, it may be that there has been developed nothing worthy or capable of continuance in a non-physical world. And yet many have thought that even in the lowest personality lurks a spark of divinity worthy of preservation. And in the most unassuming souls, content to do their part and die, may be unsuspected powers of unearthly loveliness as imperishable, perhaps more so, than the prouder ones of self-asserting genius. Whatever may be the truth of questions so far beyond us, most will agree that, however unimportant even the most powerful or the tenderest soul may be in infinity, its passionate love of others or of penetration into the innumerable and unfathomable mysteries of that infinity, its yearning to reach nobility, to attain a glorious satisfaction, entitle it to preservation at the hands of a purposive God that created it so.

We have spoken of beauty. Here is a concept that hitherto has all but defied the power of the analyst to place in a world exclusively physical. Even if it be true, as it doubtless is, that beauty, like morality, rests upon the ultimate foundation of utility, still it is manifest that here again we have reached a value that spreads its pinions from that lowly foundation and soars to heights that we are entitled to believe are not of this world. We cannot too often inquire, Whence such ideas? Is there nothing in the depth of things that corresponds to them?

Of course, it must be admitted at once that the physical evidence is calculated to disappoint the aspiration for immortality. Consciousness is never found to exist apart from the machinery of brain or nervous system; and, even as in the case of machines of men's own construction, there seems to be no logical reason why, when the mechanism is sufficiently injured, its functioning should not

cease. A blow on the head, the fatigue of sleep, or the cerebral disorders of insanity, seem to derange, suspend or annihilate intelligence. But this by no means tells the whole story.

Our brains are composed of billions of little cells on which the impressions of Nature are made and in which they are stored as memories for future reference. Assuming a separate soul entity, it would naturally follow that, with the destruction or sufficient injury or fatigue of the brain cells, that soul must lose the contacts with Nature necessary to give it consciousness and memory. The master would still be there, but without his tools, and when the tools are restored to him, when, for example, the brain fatigue is ended or its injury repaired, it is not illogical to say that the master's general consciousness, if he have any apart from that of his mundane experiences, would find no interim memory or expression through the cerebral organ, which is concerned only with the registration of earthly stimuli. In sleep there may thus be worldly unconsciousness for lack of apparatus, or, as is more probable, consciousness may in that state have to deal with brain impressions of grotesque disassociation, feeble enough to be lost from memory on awakening.

A similar answer may be made to the rather weak attempt to reduce survival to an absurdity by reason of the differences that disease and age bring to the same personality. This attempt usually takes the form of inquiry as to the state after death of the soul of an infantile or undeveloped personality or of one who dies in the decrepitude of age or disease. Is the soul that of the man at his prime or in his decadence? The answer, of course, is that the soul, assuming it to exist, is and remains always the same, the changes being merely in the apparatus that reflects Nature to it and in the resultant knowledge of her mortal forms. In that view this life is



merely a set of organized physical experiences either of an individual or universal spirit entity which precedes and survives them, and which may at any time recall them to attention quite consistently with the inability of the earthly instrument, to recall, at least in any vivid way, the non-physical not within its own experiences. The whole contains the parts, but the part does not contain the whole.

We may take another point of view. We may cease to regard the brain organism in a crudely material way and, calling to our assistance the analysis of philosophy, remember that its cells, like other physical things, are appearances only, consisting really of highly evolutionized and complex structures of elemental energies, which again are manifestations of the one energy and which, by virtue of their complexity, awaken to what is known as conscious life in this world. In any view, it does not go beyond the limits of possibility or plausibility to suppose that the brain becomes in its development the means of registering the impressions and point of view of an organized finite personality for the benefit of a primitive stuff of consciousness, noumenally underlying all things, including ourselves, and thus hopelessly beyond the domain of knowledge. So far removed, however, from the known mode of what we call physical action is consciousness that, if we are permitted to speculate at all, it becomes easier to think of it as a pre-existing than as a developed entity.

It is true that we have no memories of any existence prior to that of this life, or even of the earliest period of infancy; but that is merely a way of stating that the stimuli of Nature do not succeed, until a certain cerebral development is reached, in creating the associated impressions of a personality in this world. What may be the form of extra-mundane Being, conscious or unconscious, we may not know, but we have seen that there is reason



not only to hope, but to believe in its purposive existence. Perhaps the Universal Soul manifesting itself in Nature impresses some of its finite operations in that realm upon each individual soul, which constitutes a part of itself and which apperceives, in each case, those operations from its own point of view, in finite form, but with the capacity of abstracting significant ideals of underlying power and perfection, which dimly reflect the infinite and eternal.

Truly, in the words of the immortal Shakespeare, we are such stuff as dreams are made of. The most real thing we know is consciousness, not matter. Who shall say that its only dreams are those impressions and complexes which we trace to Nature? Who shall say who, or what, in the concealed essence of being, is the real dreamer? Who shall presume to deny, to those who seem to be parts of the dreaming whole, hope of a more real dreaming or thinking when the nightmare of this life is ended? Perhaps the yearning for completion is due to the frustration of finite effort, to the sense of infinite things yet to know, love, reverence and share. Perhaps, after sufficiently continued development, the ambitious soul may be content in realized perfection finally to merge itself with the Absolute. But who may validly speak of continued development or of future aspiration or of past existence or non-existence, when, if metaphysics holds out to us any truth, it is that of the possible evanescence of all these superficialities? The real existence may find its satisfaction, if ever, in a state which knows no present, past or future, a state which, in the words of the Apocalypse, will exist when time shall be no longer, or, rather, in an eternity which never knew time.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE NEED OF A CREEDLESS CHURCH

**I**F the philosophic analysis of the last three chapters be sound, it is clear that we know the existence of our own thought; that, by the inductions of a vast and ever consistent experience, we derive a faith, amounting to an overpowering conviction, in the existence of Nature external to thought, and hence in that of thinking beings as separate egos upon whom Nature acts; and that, by similar induction, we find, as the cause at once of the phenomena of that action and of the receiving personalities, an ultimate Energy, always the same, the God of whom, in the nature of things, intellect can know nothing. But by the same analysis we found also grounds, not by any means mounting to the certainty of conviction, from which men could find, without offense to reason, a lofty outlook upon the glories of that mysterious God, promising inexpressible things. Alike in the apparently mechanistic evolution of the physical universe, and in the history of men, including that of their institutions, aesthetics, philosophy, and, above all, their ethics, we found a constant progress from crass-matter to thought, and from thought to actions and concepts so exquisite and sublime, so remote from, and apparently unrelated to, their material origin, as almost to force the belief, thus reasonable even if not true, that they form the true reflections of the ineffable Reality, to which the evolutionary process tends to return. We found, moreover, that, if this belief be true, a rational faith in the purposiveness of God may

follow, an inscrutable purposiveness far removed from the crude teleological conceptions of the churchmen, but which, without illogicality, may be deemed to include a splendid destiny for human souls.

We found also, however, that, whether God be purposive or mechanistic, it is certain that he is not capricious; that everything moves in accordance with undeviating laws; and, therefore, that men's salvation lies solely in themselves, through the learning of those laws, the conquest of Nature and the extraction of ideals by the exercise of their exalted faculties upon their hostile and apparently cruel surroundings. Materialist and idealist join in these conclusions. Salvation is independent of belief; that is, except in so far as with most men optimism conduces to happiness. If, with some, it does not, because it seems to them to offend reason, duty is not affected. Duty has to do with facts and not beliefs. As we shall see, materialists and also those agnostic deists who have no faith either in divine purpose or in human dignity, may validly find no place for religion in human life. But for those vast numbers who need and feel a deep and subtle harmony in things, who sense in the world of Ideas, in the vague perception of the infinite and eternal, and in the profound emotions of their own souls, a promise not negatived by reason, who believe this world but the evanescent cloak of unimaginable actualities, and who find happiness in the contemplation of a ceaseless development towards a divine perfection, we shall see that a rational church can satisfy a need, conducing to the happiness of its votaries and of all mankind, not only in spiritual, but in material ways.

Before proceeding further, however, it is advisable to contrast with the philosophic conceptions and generalizations of the religion of such a church, the childish creeds which it is designed to supplant and destroy. It is not

that the modern confessions have not by this time extracted from secular thought much that is high and satisfying. Civilization has not advanced to its present stage without rendering some of the ancient superstitions impossible. Many preachers give utterance to conceptions of holy and transcendent things worthy of the most exalted philosophy. Some voice in their discourses the newest and most inspiring discoveries of science. But the creeds remain. To be consistent, their pastors must inconsistently unite with sublime teachings the follies of barbaric superstition. They cannot attain their pulpits, nor their followers, membership in the church, except by the profession of doctrines stultifying beyond words. Though each sect asserts its particular dogmas to have been miraculously revealed, we find those of many contradictory of the others, and a great part of all treating of mysteries of heaven and hell not even contained within the sacred books. And some of the dogmas not only pretend to give light on matters otherwise inscrutable, but in a way so contrary to reason, and indeed to correct taste, as to cause in our own time open or concealed rebellion in the pulpit itself.

Judaism, the mother religion, whether from its indifference to, or historic immunity from proselytism, or because of an emphasis upon national or racial character which took for granted the correct belief of the circumcised, has never formulated official creeds. The leaders of the modern, liberal or reformed synagogues declare that God's revelation is historically continuous and therefore abandon many of the Mosaic anachronisms. Some intimate that Judaism has really no creed other than monotheism, but unless it ceases to be Judaism, that is, unless its history is to be entirely denied, there must at least be added the belief in the divine and special mission of the Jews. Even a Judaism which accepts fully the

teachings of modern science must be more than deism; for, even if it reject the supernatural inspiration of the Scriptures in the ancient sense, it must believe that in some supernormal way they reveal the destiny of the Jewish people to be the priests through whom all the nations of the earth shall ultimately be blessed. And if we are to be guided by its prayers, liturgies and preachments, liberal Judaism also insists upon the soul's immortality and post-mortem retribution.

Orthodox Judaism, while it ever holds fast to the central monotheism, obscures it in a maze of superstitions almost as intricate and unreasonable as those of any Christian church. It not only makes a fetich of the inspired Bible, but teaches the revealed truth of volumes and volumes of commentaries and originally oral traditions which it professes to trace as far back as Moses himself. Even for immortality and retribution, which anciently it certainly did not profess, it later claimed and now claims to have divine warrant in the traditional words of that great prophet. An incredible ceremonialism makes the life of the truly orthodox Jew a continuous performance of holy works and sometimes all but conceals from him the pure theism and noble ethics which it was devised to protect. Among other things are treasured six hundred and thirteen commandments binding on him, said to be taken from the law alone, one for each day in the year and each bone in the human body.

We have seen in earlier chapters that spiritual immortality was never a part of ancient Judaism, nor probably of primitive Christianity. Original Judaism taught belief in God and obedience to his revealed laws, for the rest enjoining a blind and resigned faith in his justice. Later it added the promise of an earthly kingdom of God in which even the dead, resurrected in the body, should have a part. Christianity adopted this last doctrine, which was to



be fulfilled at the second coming of Jesus in his own generation. But when that glorious promise failed, or seemed likely to fail, the physical resurrection was treated as only symbolic of a spiritual immortality.

Orthodox or rabbinical Judaism has retained, at least to some extent, the idea of resurrection, though at the cost of considerable mental acrobatics on the part of some of its more philosophic adherents in mediaeval as well as in modern times. Liberal Judaism professes belief in a spiritual immortality only. Christianity, at the first contact with Greek ideas, found itself in trouble with its Judaistic doctrine of resurrection, as witness the Pauline differentiation of physical and spiritual bodies; and soon attained from classic thought the conception of a spiritual survival. While modern Judaism lays no emphasis upon the idea of hell, it does teach the doctrine of future reward and retribution, not as a matter of Biblical authority, but as a development of the schools.

Orthodox Judaism still looks forward to the Messianic kingdom, that is, to the restoration of the Jewish national power in Jerusalem, the rebuilding of the temple and the establishment of the long discarded and savage institution of sacrifice to Jehovah. Liberal Judaism discards the restoration, repudiates the meticulous Biblical requirements as to sacrifices, regarding prayer as a substitute more suited to the present age, and looks forward to the gratification of the Messianic hope by the union, through the chosen people, but not necessarily from Jerusalem, of all nations in peace and good will, and in worship of the one God. While, if liberal Judaism were to formulate a creed, it would probably embrace, at the least, monotheism, the Jewish mission and some form of special, divine revelation to the Jews, and perhaps also immortality, it must be admitted that it has never been Jewish doctrine, liberal or orthodox, among its most en-

lightened teachers, that a man's salvation depends on his beliefs. The emphasis has been upon conduct and not upon faith.

As to the Christian churches, one might write a volume on the subtle distinctions between their numerous creeds. Until these days of so-called Modernism, when some men, intelligent but inconsistent, are seeking from Christian pulpits to teach what is not Christianity, one would have supposed to be basic Christian dogmas at least the following: The fall of men, through original sin, from primitive innocence to hopeless depravity; their absolute inability to redeem themselves from this dire condition; the incarnation of God's only Son in human form to effect as Saviour that redemption for men which they are unable to effect for themselves; his birth in this world from a human virgin and the Holy Ghost; the atonement for sin by his vicarious sacrifice; his resurrection from the dead after crucifixion; the unity of the Godhead in a mystic Trinity, consisting of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; the ultimate judgment of all men, living and dead; and the eternal damnation of the non-elect. These and perhaps others are the unequivocal tenets of the books of the New Testament, and, therefore, ought logically to be those of all who accept the supernatural inspiration of those books in the form in which they have descended to us.

To these tenets the churches have added many others, which they claim either to be contained or implied within the sacred books, or, where that is impossible, to have descended in oral traditions from Christ himself, or to have been developed through the inspiration of God's vicars on earth. For all these churches Satan is a real Devil, ruling over a real Hell, where those men, not necessarily more depraved, according to some churches, than the elect, but who are not fortunate enough to find grace,

will burn forever. One church mitigates this horror by the humane provision of a purgatory, where the souls, at least of those not certainly damned, may either await the day of the Christ's final judgment or suffer a mitigated torture until purged for entrance into bliss, an outcome which may be hastened by priestly ministration and the prayers of the faithful. Other churches denounce this purgatory as a Satanic delusion. By all we are taught that baptism is the prerequisite of salvation, but while some are content with sprinkling, others insist on the necessity of immersion. Some assert that even an unbaptized babe is damned forever, while others consider it a sin to baptize other than adults of proper preparation and understanding.

Some churches insist that the bread and wine of the holy Eucharist are but symbols of the blood and flesh of Jesus for those who partake in holy communion; others, that they become by virtue of priestly consecration literally and actually flesh and blood; still others, that they become so only in a metaphysical sense, comprehensible only to casuists. In one church, the Eucharist, in the form of the Mass, is a true and propitiatory sacrifice of God's Son for the living and the dead; in others, the Mass is denounced as an unspeakable abomination. One church insists that each of the seven sacraments included among its rites is, where applicable, necessary to salvation; others limit their number and define their importance in various grades. One church teaches that the Holy Ghost is an emanation from the Father, while another emphasizes the importance of adding that it also emanates from the Son.

Some churches insist that man is so utterly depraved that nothing he can do, however virtuous, can have any effect whatever in his redemption, which may be achieved only by faith in the Christ, although it seems to be ad-

mitted that a true faith is impossible without the accompaniment of good works. But while all insist that he who in the honest exercise of reason cannot entertain faith is irredeemably damned, some assert, as indeed seems logical, that even faith will not save unless it be that of the elect foreordained from the beginning. Others assert that one cannot be of the elect in spite of genuine faith unless both faith and works be accomplished under priestly auspices, ministrations, sacraments and absolution. The New Testament books themselves are emphatic in the repeated statement that only the elect can be saved. To this some churches have added that, since God must have perfect foreknowledge, both the elect and damned must have been predestined, while others, shocked by the cruelty of such a theology, though admitting God's foreknowledge, still give, in some mystical way, such a class of free will to men as to belie predestination. The greatest virtue, in or out of Christianity, is not alone sufficient to save, and some churches even insist that whether one be of the elect or not can never be certainly known in this world. Some churches teach that man has no free will to achieve the mystic, spiritual righteousness that saves, as distinguished from the righteousness of mere reason, but that this spiritual righteousness comes only by divine grace and election.

There are, or have been, among Christian sects the fiercest controversies even upon such apparently hopeless mysteries as the nature of the Trinity, although even the Scriptures do not pretend to cast any light here, contenting themselves with the mere statement of the fact in those few passages, believed by scholars to be interpolations, where the doctrine is set forth. Some insist that the Son, while begotten of the Father, is yet coeval with him, there being no time when the Son was not. Others, disputing this, assert that while the Son is divine, he is a



creation, at least in the sense that the Divine Nature at some time concluded to and did produce him as a separate entity of the single Godhead. Likewise, the fiercest disputes have raged, and different doctrines have been professed, as to the precise nature of the man Jesus, whether his nature was double, human and divine, or a divine nature absorbing the human, or a single composite nature.

Some churches insist upon the veneration of the perpetual Virgin Mary, overlooking the fact that the Scriptures intimate that she had children by Joseph after the birth of Jesus; and they designate her as the Mother of God. Others have asserted as strenuously that she could not be the Mother of God since she was the mother only of his human nature. The Pope, in an Encyclical of the nineteenth century, tells us that the Virgin Mother of God sits in a golden vestment as a queen upon the right hand of her only-begotten Son. Because of the doctrine of original sin, it disturbed many mediaeval minds to account for the birth of the divine Saviour from a woman who, herself born from human passions, was conceived in sin. It remained for the vicar of God on earth, again in the nineteenth century, to settle the controversies caused by this difficult question by the declaration, in the famous dogma of the immaculate conception, that Mary in the first moment of her conception was miraculously preserved immune from all stain of original sin.

A few years later the Pope, after the pronouncement of a general council deemed advisory only, solemnly declared himself to be infallible on all matters pertaining to faith and morals. Whoever undertook to gainsay this became anathema. It was also declared that the Pontiff has the power to ban opinions of all kinds, whether philosophic, scientific, economic, governmental, or otherwise, believed to be contrary to Catholic doctrine. In fact, in our own age of boasted civilization, the Roman Church



boldly put into form and published to an astounded world the arrogant claim of super-sovereignty which it had been cherishing, and from time to time asserting, for many centuries. Upon the premise that the rule of the Pope is that of God, it was asserted logically enough that men have no right to freedom of opinion or worship, that the education of children, secular or otherwise, except under ecclesiastic control is unlawful, and that the temporal power of the Church for the enforcement of its claims is supreme over that of every State.

To those who do not admit the premise of the divinely inspired viceroyalty, such pretensions seem dangerous in the extreme. Although in countries where they are ignored or flouted the Church proceeds delicately and is loud in the championship of a religious liberty of which it desires the benefit, it is self-evident that until these ambitious claims are abandoned, governments that desire to be free do well to be on their guard. It is not mere intolerance but prudence that hesitates to induct into high office votaries of a religious system that asserts its head to be God's substitute to whom all men and all rulers owe reverence and obedience. If we could only be assured of the truth of that haughty assertion, what a promise for the happiness of men would be contained in their implicit submission to the wise and virtuous government of a united world by Divinity itself! Then indeed would the Utopian dream of the prophets and of St. Augustine be fulfilled! But in the absence of that assurance, or rather, in view of the contempt in which these pretensions are quite generally held, and by many even in the Roman Church, men will continue suspicious of the liberty-threatening power of the small Italian clique from which alone God selects his vicar. The power of their organization is great. There seems to be little immediate hope of its disintegration. But surprising things happen. There

are not wanting signs of promise. The liberalizing process, when it clearly shows itself, will probably be from within, from the Church's own Modernists, impatient at once of intellectual slavery and of its enforcement on the whole world by the priests of one inconsiderable nation.

The Roman Church still claims that it has the power to grant indulgence for sins, a doctrine of course repudiated by other churches. A like difference exists between them as to the worship of Saints and the efficacy of prayers for their intercession with Jesus. Moreover, the one church declares that images of Christ and of the Holy Virgin and of the Saints ought to be retained and venerated, while others hold such practices to be idolatrous. The reformed churches rest their faith entirely upon the Scriptures, while the Roman claims the equal sanctity of its oral traditions, which it maintains descend from Christ himself. It also asserts the sole right of interpretation of the Bible and the traditions, and brings the latter and the interpretations to the support of dogmas which the Scriptures themselves plainly do not support. The other churches maintain theoretically the right of every man to examine the sacred books for himself, but even these have held the liberty of the individual in this respect in the closest subjection to dogmatic interpretation by the church as a whole.

The creeds are no longer truly accepted by the great majority of the intelligent, even in the congregations of the believers. College, forum, mart, pulpit and church contain many whose religion is a more or less weak deism, vaguely united to a growing ethics, and which they find it increasingly difficult to reconcile with the bewildering dogmas upon which from time to time their pastors find it necessary to insist. The time is now ripe for a magnificent forward movement on the part of the clerical

leaders. The Modernist clergymen, now in the majority, at least in the more advanced centres, must be growing exceedingly unhappy in their ambiguous position. Their sermons often strikingly combine the most exalted philosophy and ethics with the crudest inanities of the stereotyped superstitions. Some of them, enlightened by the study of history and comparative mythology, having suddenly and often after ordination discovered the true character of the creeds, vie with each other in the endeavor to justify them by a plausible but unconvincing exegesis. Others attempt to discard the less material parts as irrelevant.

Some, for example, insist that it is impossible longer to believe in the story of the virgin birth. But if they still believe in God's incarnation in Jesus of Nazareth and the latter's ascension, in men's mystic redemption by his sacrificial blood, in the trinitarian nature of God, in men's spiritual rebirth only by partaking actually or symbolically of the Saviour's flesh and blood, and in the supernatural revelation of these things, it ought not be difficult for them to believe that the Almighty, who takes such an intimate interest in human affairs, could and would bring about a virgin birth and all the other miraculous tricks of holy Scripture, even to the raising of the decaying dead. Some of these clergymen, fresh from the enlightening study of evolutionary science, are convinced that the world is countless ages more than six thousand years old, and that men, far from falling into sin from a primitive perfection, have been slowly rising from a primitive savagery; and with enthusiasm they teach their flocks that an inscrutable Power, working through unimaginable aeons according to fixed laws in a constantly ascending development, is much more worthy of reverential worship than the anthropomorphic Jehovah of their ancestors. But in teaching these things it is remarkable that

they do not realize or, more probably, ignore the fact that the destruction of the absurd dogma of original sin carries away with it the foundations of Christianity. Many of them to-day repudiate with indignation the idea of a merciless God, condemning righteous men and innocent babes, or even wicked men, to eternal torture; and nearly all of them, to the credit of our age be it said, disregard that more than austere doctrine. Not a word of it is heard any longer, except from the most extreme Fundamentalist bigots, who, when pressed, in their anxiety to save their brethren from so horrible and irremediable a fate, still thunder their belief in its literal truth. Logically, too, that view is unassailable. The doctrine is Scripturally set forth with perfect clarity. Those who, in their trust in the divine love, repudiate or ignore it, deny the fundamental document upon which their religion rests. We have already discussed sufficiently the difficulty sustained by the more liberal pastoral leaders in defending an ethics which, in teaching improvidence for the morrow and non-resistance to wrong and tyranny, challenges civilization.

What a tremendous impetus to the growth of wisdom, aye, and to the usefulness of the clergy, will be imparted when once the intellect, unshackled at last, is enabled to dart forward in whatever direction its free processes dictate! With what happiness and courage and renewed strength can these men then fulfil their useful functions! The whole field of history, the vast achievements of science, the noble concepts of philosophy, the ideals of an altruistic ethics, will lie before them. Theirs will be the glorious privilege of guiding in the new church, a creedless church, the aspirations of those who, not content with limitation, pine to discover some foundation for a rational hope of spiritual satisfaction in the contemplation of the exquisite things of art and science that instruct and charm the reason and ravish with delight the sense of beauty. The



new church will be creedless because of the folly of refusing such high opportunities except to those who profess ability or willingness to assert convinced belief in matters beyond mortal ken. The question is merely whether the argument leaves room for any church at all.

If revelation is to be utterly discarded, if it be true that no God is to be left except one who has never been known to interfere with the apparently remorseless laws of Nature, and if men are finally seen to stand absolutely alone in their perennial struggle for mastery over the cruelly antagonistic forces of that Nature, it may be logically doubted whether there is reason for any church. To that question we now address ourselves, but briefly in view of the analysis already made of the idealism which demands opportunity for satisfaction outside of the schools and an escape from the materialism of the constant battle of life. But if a new church is to replace that of revelation and magic, and if it is to be born of the loving brotherhood of men, if its life-force is to be found in the yearning quest of a spiritual virtue, beauty and truth, there is no need to devote much time to the proposition that it must be creedless.

What difference does it make, if men are to meet in cultivation of non-material ideals and worship of the spiritual Power which they realize as splendidly manifest in the universe, in what respects they disagree in their speculations as to the noumenal nature of that Power, or as to any of those ultimate problems which science declares insoluble? What difference does it make that they disagree even in their opinions as to the possibility of solution? What difference does it make, even if some doubt the existence or the benign purposiveness of God? Is it not sufficient that they want to establish union with their fellow-men in the refining study and feeling perception of those concepts not directly related to the struggle for



existence and supremacy? Is it conceivable that there can be any reason why men of all classes, intellectual and otherwise, and with every grade of opinion that their differences imply, should not come together in appropriate churches for the stimulation of their noblest faculties? Time may indeed suggest ecclesiastic organization and membership distribution, based no longer, however, on belief or worldly rank, but only on varying intellectual need.

The objection that it will prove dangerous thus to free the uneducated from those fears which have hitherto helped to hold them to social order, has already been discussed in Chapter VIII. One is almost tempted to the opinion that, if men have not yet within them the actual or inchoate strength to face the truth, the civilized structure is not worthy of preservation. But even the lowliest men understand in their hearts that morality is really a matter of reason and far-seeing self-interest. Moreover, one need not be too fearful of any revolutionary destruction, by this great reform, of the ancient religious sanctions that have hitherto supported the fear of civil punishment in governing conduct. Such is human nature that, even though this reform be begun, even though the movement be a considerable one, and under a wise and widespread leadership, we cannot expect for a very long time its complete adoption by the mass of men or even by most of the leaders. The forces of ignorance, self-interest, organization, deep-seated prejudice and sincere conviction are very powerful. The advance can only be extremely gradual. Even if the existing ministry were, in large numbers, immediately to assume a courageous leadership in abolishing the test of creed, which, of course, is entirely too optimistic a hope to entertain, the sapping of the ancient superstitions would still take many weary years. The old sanctions would still persist while the work of en-

lightenment progressed. Besides, since the church advocated is to have no creed, not even the negative one of hostility to revealed religion, membership may even include those who believe in the eternal damnation of innocent babes. The creedless church is not to make a condition of communion abandonment of any belief, however absurd. The only question relating to the expediency of the reform that need seriously concern us is the power of the race to rise above stupidity. The greatness of the issue and some signs of promise justify the experiment.

We have already seen how the world of thought is still divided between the idealists and materialists. The latter have been always, and we think now more than ever, in the vast minority. We have seen that science and philosophy unite in finding the universe monistic, and manifested and governed by an impalpable Force or Spirit, and that the issue reduces itself really to one question, whether the universal Spirit be mechanistic or of the order of consciousness and will. Finally we have seen that there is ground for a rational belief, not only in the latter view, but in a divine purposiveness that includes men and their noble conceptions, in some mysterious way, in the infinite and eternal whole. We have, in fact, seen enough to make most of us suspect that the mechanistic theory, though possibly true, since it deals with matters beyond knowledge, is, in view of the natural and universal development of men's concededly highest conceptions, little less than absurd.

By those who nevertheless find intellectual satisfaction in the material side of this controversy, certainly no church will be desired, nor, for that matter, any values other than those of material happiness. For men who believe their destinies to be confined to the period between a mundane birth and a mundane death, there can be no higher sanction for morality than the happy satisfaction

of material wants, including, of course, within these terms all the finest activities which materialists can recognize as tending to human enjoyment. It is clear, however, and would perhaps be admitted by some of them, that the tendency of their belief is to lower the moral standard beneath that of the highest altruism, which, though it seems to have developed quite naturally from materialistic beginnings, logically they ought to believe, has reached a maudlin extreme, foolishly disregarding of its origin or purpose. Materialism certainly tends to afford conscience secret escape from general inhibitions where preponderantly satisfied that no general harm will follow. To this class of thinkers the highest values consist in the development of applied science, health and wealth. It is true that in the pursuit of ease, pleasurable excitement and luxury, they do not overlook the happiness that comes from the facile working of every human faculty, including the intellect, but their tendency is clearly to condemn the mere dreamer who seeks for unapplied truth, while lauding him whose thoughts seek fruition in tangible benefit.

It must be taken into consideration, however, that a vast number of thinking men, probably a large majority, take the other view. They believe that human happiness far transcends the satisfaction of material wants and even of ordinary intellectual wants. They believe in the possibility of a happiness to be attained in the contemplation of the mystic borderland of knowledge and in the discovery of profound and exquisite consonances. Whether their type of mind is the unconscious survival of the creeds time alone can tell. The condition that confronts us is that it exists and with high aspirations.

We have had occasion to see repeatedly how, starting with the most materialistic view of world origin and development, we have invariably reached those progressively higher planes which the religious, and indeed the phil-

osophic, mind has always venerated as superior. We have just as frequently given warning that the notion that those planes are really high in any absolute sense is a matter of faith only. But it has been equally demonstrated that men's sanction for the reality of all that the most materialistic science has developed lies in the inductions of experience. No one who appreciates this tremendous fact can rightly quarrel with those, as truly scientific as any, who conclude that their conviction of the actual superiority of the so-called higher concepts is grounded in truth. Experience shows a development from matter to living organism, from that to awareness, and then to self-consciousness and reason. It shows reason, employed at first in the mere defeat of physical enemies, rising in the end to concepts in which it surveys the universe and glimpses the infinite and eternal. It evidences the evolution of conduct from patently egoistic motivation to the highest altruism, where selfishness finds gratification in sacrifice. Experience finds among all men, in every land and in every age, a hedonistic development from the things of sense to those of thought and feeling. Everywhere the music of material action bursts into a joyous life which continues to expand until able to study and control the very forces which produced it. Everywhere mind grows and grows until its apparently material origin is forgotten in its glorious attainment of the realm of Ideas, where incessantly it seeks the perfection of proportion and numbered harmony, of balanced virtue, of supernal beauty and of absolute and timeless truth. Such concepts are as truly facts of experience as the existence of any stick or stone. If it is permissible to theorize, and Science will be the last to deny that privilege, they afford a mighty groundwork for rational faith. More than that, they stamp as folly the philosophy of automatism. At all events, it is a fact with which we must reckon that a very



respectable portion of the intellectual world takes this position and is convinced that the greatest happiness is to be achieved, not in mere animal satisfaction, however high the animal nature be developed, not even in mere intellectual interest in the things that may be measured, but in the development, apart from utility, of the love of transcendent ideals for their own sakes.

Some of these idealists need no church, though the church may need them to lead it. Their thought, constantly engaged on the higher levels of science or art or philosophy, requires no external inspiration. But even such men often feel the need of intellectual exchange and the stimulation of contact. Perhaps too they will be attracted to the novel kind of church that, resting on the rock of Philosophy, will cease to be one of mummeries. Among the people at large there must be immense numbers of aspiring minds who will welcome the opportunity to acquire an intelligent outlook upon the cosmos, a sane appreciation of ethics and an education in the construction of exalted concepts, until they are ready to gaze with some comprehension into the inviting realms of Philosophy where the high places of possible knowledge expose the awe-inspiring glories of the veiled infinitudes.

A brief review of the various elements of modern society with respect to their need of such a church may prove profitable. While the subject is too complex for hard and fast definition, a fair division is the usual one of four classes, the aristocracy, the middle class, the proletariat and the intellectuals.

In these days, in the more important countries, the hereditary nobility is negligible, and the aristocracy consists preponderantly of the great industrial and professional captains. It is the class of vast wealth. The proletariat consists of that vast majority which supports the



social structure by manual labor. These two widely separated classes are alike in the characteristic here most relevant, their materialism. The leisure classes, whether originally industrial or hereditary, to the extent that they do not follow the materialistic life, may be classed with the intellectuals.

The aristocrats, for the most part, are what the most modern psychology calls "extraverts." They are intensely practical, keen observers of the tangible things of this world, quick to use their great brain power in organization and adaptation for material development. They are not dreamers. They do not usually entertain or understand abstractions. The world owes them a tremendous debt, which they take care shall be fully paid, for the initial self-restraint by which the amassing of their capital is begun, and for that indefatigable use of it and of their intelligence which has created and supports the vast modern multitudes. The constancy of their labors, however, leaves little time for reflection, while the temptations of power often lead to selfishness and abuse. But conscience and self-interest combine in inducing them to contribute generously to eleemosynary and educational objects. Their happiness, apart from that of material achievement, is found, in their moments of relaxation, in the pursuit of pleasurable excitement. Their life is a constant round of business, outdoor sports, indoor gambling, dancing, and the indulgence of the various appetites. This is not to say that they do not contribute from their families to the ranks of the intellectuals. While most of these men are only superficially educated, many have admiration for thought even if generally confined to that form which finds its end in the creation of practical values. Their sons are sent to the colleges and, while for the most part they cultivate pleasure more than learning, they

frequently take advantage of their opportunities and abandon the exciting indulgences of the nabob for the calm reflections of the philosopher.

These magnates generally have no real need for a church. So far as they think of abstract things at all, they are materialists. True, most of them are members of one religious denomination or another. To be such gives them a badge of respectability and an alliance with an institution which they realize is a conservative influence in the maintenance of a civilization which renders their own useful existence and the general happiness possible. Their intelligence is such that their religious views are for the most part broad and tolerant, though their interest in the profundities is small. They are often ready enough to admit the existence of abuses, but slow to apply remedies which involve any real interruption of their highly satisfactory condition and of their far-reaching plans, more often than not, beneficent as well as profitable. They are lavish in largess but not so prodigal of the thought or time needed for progressive improvement. Highly useful though they are, the very nature of their leadership must tend to materialism.

Where the opportunities of leisure and the nature of the intellectual development are favorable, the religious aspirations of these men will find a greater satisfaction in a reasonable than in a superstitious approach to the eternal mysteries. The helter-skelter of their lives must leave a subconscious craving for reflection. Existing dogma feeds their intelligence only with contempt. To many of them a church broadened to a general philosophic interest may prove far more attractive and stimulating than the existing institutions, and tempt them to the cultivation of pleasures not wholly practical and sensuous. It may even sometimes inspire the devotion of

their ability to big and well-considered plans for the progress of the race.

The proletarian class has most of the vices of the aristocratic without so many redeeming features. Here practically no real education exists, the interests are almost entirely material, the pleasures exceptionally other than sensuous, civilization but a thin veneer over primitive instincts, religion, while often devout, largely based on fear. Frequently during the course of history lack of organization has subjected this class to oppressive treatment, the infliction of which, under the pressure of competition, those higher placed were not always able to avoid. The modern tendency of the proletariat, whenever tempted by unaccustomed power, is toward a tyranny which is the more cruel as it is unpolished, ignorant and savage. The greatest blessing brought by modern political development lies in the common opportunities for education and advancement, extending to the lowest ranks and rendering possible inter-class promotion. The future of men depends largely upon the willingness and ability of the higher classes to govern wisely, but in the end upon their ability to educate the proletariat. At present it is included, with even the middle classes, in that great majority who blindly follow leaders. Only gradually can its members be led into the creedless church. But their eyes once opened to the splendid opportunity of men to conquer salvation by the cultivation of mind and heart, there is no limit to the possible attainments of the race.

The safety of the social structure now rests on the common sense and thoughtful conservatism of the great middle class of fairly prosperous people; those who are not so advanced beyond the necessities of the hard struggle for decent living, and not so reduced to the chains of manual employment, as to be tempted either to an abuse

of power which they do not possess, to a greed born of violent vicissitudes, or to an excessive sensuous enjoyment from which their intelligence and mode of life tend to preserve them. This class is eager for improvement and for knowledge. Owing to the difficulties of life, it is, of course, far from entirely free from materialism. But it has the ambition of intelligence unspoilt by indulgence and undegraded by servility. It is from its ranks that, for the most part, those of the intellectuals are filled, and the aspiringly thinking and deeply feeling pioneers of the new church will be derived. A boon indeed for such men will be an institution that will instruct and stimulate mind and heart to the fullest effort and finest sentiment, but in full freedom, without the restraint of stultifying conditions.

The intellectuals, while of course containing many whose ends are largely material and selfish, and many whose culture is not well balanced or sufficiently experienced, still include a large number, probably preponderant, who follow science and art from sheer love and whose paramount ideal is truth. These constitute the true aristocracy of men and perhaps in time will be treated as such. They will supply the leaders and add to the membership of the new church. Not only is the pursuit of truth and beauty in itself a good, but, experience teaches, its encouragement is the best policy; for from disinterested philosophy come the inventions and discoveries that make for ease and luxury, and from an uncommercial art, the glories that extend happiness to thousands of millions of all the generations. The release of the mind from theologic chains will constitute a stimulus to reason and taste. The new church will cultivate and encourage a priesthood of genius, more than the old, a priesthood of dogma. But the new priesthood will be independent, unfettered by any creed, and perhaps freed from the eco-

conomic grind by wise provision that will prevent weakness from becoming subserviency.

The future of the race, in the last analysis, depends on the stimulation of the intellectual class, the class of leaders. Throughout history we have been indebted for institutions and inventions to the powers of a few. Since men have been on this earth they have numbered thousands and thousands of millions; yet it is probably true to say that they would have remained close to their original state except for a leadership that can be numbered in thousands. This fact is wondrous evidence of the power of ideas. A few of these leaping from the brains of genius have stood as the guides and goals of human effort, and thus have ruled the world. The theocratic idea of ancient prophecy has had an almost continuous history until the present day, when, confined now to the Roman Church alone, it is in the general world, promisingly if slowly, converting itself into that of a super-government to be administered not by priestly pretension but by careful statesmanship. The idea of evolution, born twenty-five centuries ago, has received the impetus of demonstration in our own day and now, over science and philosophy, rules supreme. The idea of supernatural revelation and authority has had its day. It has done much to loosen and to chain ferocity. It probably saved Occidental civilization from a total disintegration when Rome fell. Even now it converts itself into the idea of a natural revelation of God by his manifold manifestations in the cosmos. With progressing intellectualism, the idea of authority gives way to that of new inquiry; the idea of supernatural help, to that of human power and self-reliance. All the ideas have not proved true, but all have served a purpose. The history of men and of their thought unfolds itself like a great drama enacted by a few bold champions before the choruses of divided humanity, and ever pro-



gressing to the unity of wider confederacies and generalizations.

The great masses of men, like sheep, still follow politically and otherwise a relatively few leaders. Democracy is an illusion. It is true that it is probably the best governmental method yet evolved in restraint of native greed. It is true that the ideal value of despotism disappears under the variations of personalities and the temptations of power. Democracy at least tempers despotism by the competitions of party and the balance of divided authority, while general suffrage operates as a safety valve for the outlet of otherwise dangerous popular passion. But, except on rare occasions of revolution strong enough for a time to sweep even leadership aside, the masses even in the most liberal democracies have been content to marshal themselves, more or less blindly, under one or the other of the contending powers. The people are incompetent to rule; and, even were it otherwise, it is impossible to devise adequate machinery for the expression of their judgment on complex questions. Leadership is everything.

Assuming the impossible, that all the leaders of every church should at once favor the abolition of its creeds and the substitution of any kind of philosophy whatever, or entire freedom, how long would it take for the people to fall in line? As they do not and cannot, alas, in the present state of evolution, think very deeply for themselves, it would be the easiest thing in the world first to shame and then convince them out of childish superstitions. They take their religion as they take their politics and their literary, scientific and philosophical opinions, in so far as they entertain such opinions at all, from the leaders in whose camps they chance to find themselves.

In fact, the most discouraging obstacle that confronts those who hope for a magnificent future for a self-redeeming race is the great percentage of stupidity that

still persists, and not only among the proletariat. A great race cannot be developed even by the cultivation of a respectable amount of intellect exclusively for material ends. Even to-day, in the ranks of working men, middle men and magnates, sensible enough in the pursuit of personal and special aims, are tremendous numbers, exclusive, too, of those whose intellectual status in every direction is hopeless, who are impossible as general thinkers. Foresight and cunning in the creation or transfer of wealth do not necessarily connote true intelligence. There are many men, highly successful materially, to whom, though pride may blind them to their deficiencies, the real things are as a closed book. To follow a logical argument is for such men difficult; abstraction, an impossibility. Without accepting as authoritative the disheartening conclusions indicated by the army intelligence tests made among millions of men during the recent war, history and current experience certainly bear out those conclusions to the extent of indicating that the very great majority of men are as yet incapable of other than the simplest kind of concrete thinking.

Perhaps this discouraging fact is due to the grind of economic necessity. Perhaps it is due to the defects of some of our educational systems. Perhaps it is due to the restraint of intelligence for so many centuries in the irons of supernaturalism. Perhaps it is due to the slow pace of natural evolution, which can afford, with its millions of years of past and future, to be more patient in awaiting its results than we are. Perhaps it is due to all these things. Perhaps, as some incredibly believe, it is due to the hopeless exhaustion of the proletarian stock. But certainly some good will be accomplished by the substitution, for creeds that have always feared and checked general enlightenment as adverse to their dogmas, of a church that will welcome and encourage a popular education that

will swell its membership. And many who, for one reason or another, have been unable to educate themselves in youth, will welcome the opportunity of attending a church that will close no door to comprehension of the world and man's place in it; a church whose prime and splendid objective will be the stimulation of intellectual, moral and aesthetic growth.

Such a church will not only improve its members, but will incite them to the proper education of their children. It will certainly have no fixed liturgy, though it may use a flexible and changing one that will include the masterpieces of literature and art. Its main function will be the weekly sermon or lecture, generally directed from the things of knowledge and feeling to their spiritual ultimates, and to which the mind will be attuned by the deep and suggestive sweetness of melody. It will aim at the inculcation of a reasoned and noble ethics, but, as good taste and intelligence grow, refrain from directing its thunders at special interests unless sure that its fulminations are guided by an assured and not an amateur and inexperienced knowledge.

One of the important and promising tendencies of the times is the eagerness with which so many from every class, and particularly the middle class, seek contact with the intellectuals who can afford them opportunities for instruction. The extension courses of the universities, the lecture halls of various urban leagues, the churches known to have at their heads the most eloquent and enlightened preachers, are crowded with people pathetically eager for improvement. What an impulse will be given to this tendency when men and women know that they are eligible for membership in any church irrespective of belief, and that the generally undogmatic instruction they may there receive will come from learned and magnetic personalities from university and church alike! What an impulse will

be given to popular culture when it is commonly recognized that church and school are at one in the pursuit of truth; that learning need no longer be derived from two fountains whose waters, even the unenlightened have vaguely felt, will not mix!

As has been already remarked, no one need fear that dogma will suddenly disappear from the world and carry with it those restraints whose loss is so much dreaded by some conservatives. A creedless church means not only freedom from dogma but the freedom of dogma. Those who are unable to free themselves from superstition may nevertheless be welcome members. Perhaps, indeed, an important feature of the initiation of this movement will be the broad and generous action of churches, under a guidance not too orthodox, in admitting into their membership those not willing to subscribe to their creeds.

There is one splendid advantage of the great reform here proposed which overtops all the others. By the mere fact of admission, free from the test of creed, to a church membership which finds its bond of union in a common helplessness and a common need to cultivate a rational ethics and a spiritual philosophy, the ideal of human brotherhood will be immeasurably advanced. Sectarianism and racial prejudice will tend to die together. A beautiful impetus will be given to a kind of education needed quite as much as that of the intellect, the culture of the heart, of those fine feelings and delicate sensibilities, so often and so sadly wanting, which make life charming. Men may at last come truly to love one another.

If, in view of insuperable human limitations, this general cultivation of intelligence and sentiment should prove impossible, the happiness of society will always rest upon a dangerous substratum. Philosophers in many ages have indulged themselves in Utopian fancies, which the more conservative have scorned in view of their profound dis-

trust of the human material. But humanity must always be courageous. It must mount to the noble attempt to refine that material. It must nerve itself not only to a renewed warfare upon hostile Nature but to a trustful and brotherly union of hearts in the pursuit of ideals. Enlightenment has already done much for right living, for the extension of the life period and the filling of it with wholesome and happy occupation. Powerful will be the new impetus when to all the other impulses is added sincerity! Co-operation requires frankness; successful battle, the courageous facing of all the factors, unconcealed. Esoterism cannot promote general progress. The search for reality must be unimpeded by man-made shackles. The surging aspiration for knowledge and beauty, sweeping forward with no ensign but the naked truth, respecting the past but refusing to endanger the future, may surely if slowly, and more rapidly than most believe possible, approach the realization of a genuine and universal civilization. This progress will certainly not be retarded by a brotherhood which demands nothing from men in the way of belief except, tacitly, a belief in themselves, a belief in their own ability by strenuous effort to understand and master Nature, a belief in their power to glimpse with awe the infinite and absolute and mysteriously purposive Power beyond the veil.









